

The African Communist

NO 61 SECOND QUARTER 1975



**RELEASE ALL
South African
POLITICAL PRISONERS**

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South African Communist Party*

No. 61 Second Quarter 1975

COVER PICTURE: *South African political prisoners. First Row – Bram Fischer (life), Dorothy Nyembe (15 years), Nelson Mandela (life), Billy Nair (20 years). Second Row – Walter Sisulu (life), Denis Goldberg (life), Ahmed Kathrada (life) and Govan Mbeki (life).*

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EDITORIAL NOTES



WHEN 'PEACE' CAN LEAD TO WAR

The whole sub-continent of Southern Africa has been in a ferment since the removal of Portuguese fascism as one of the props of the white alliance. The projected independence of Mozambique and Angola under the firm control of the liberation organisations who had successfully fought for their freedom has created concern, almost desperation, in the ranks of the racist regimes and their imperialist allies.

Not only was the imperialist front in Africa badly breached by these developments, but the heat engendered by the conflagration threatened to spread the fire of revolt already smouldering in the remainder of dominated Africa. If the fighting was not stopped, the

inevitable outcome of the impending battles, no matter how long and how fiercely they were waged, could only be the destruction of the remaining bastions of racialism and imperialism and the final establishment of majority rule. The priceless and still largely untapped wealth of Southern Africa would be lost to the West for good and the area would cease to serve as a secure base for imperialist domination of all Africa, of the Indian Ocean, of the oil and trade routes to the Middle and Far East.

The effect of all this has been to trigger off a search by Vorster, Smith and their imperialist backers for "solutions" which they hope will help to keep intact the main substance of the exploitative system in minority-dominated Southern Africa. As we go to press the situation is still fluid, with all parties engaged in top-level discussion aimed at bringing about a settlement in Rhodesia. So far Smith has made his own terms crystal clear. He stated quite firmly that "the Government had no policy to hand over to the country to Black majority rule". (*Star*, January, 18, 1975). Earlier, in his New Year broadcast, he had assured the whites of Rhodesia that there would be "no dramatic changes". Not surprisingly, Smith has stated that he rates the chances of securing agreement as "slim". Yet the talks, and the pressures behind the talks, continue.

South Africa's interest and role in these talks is widely known. Vorster is in the first place anxious to contain South Africa's liberation movement and prevent it from gaining any advantage from his own loss of friendly borders. He is also striving to break down the wall of isolation which separates South Africa from independent Africa and to pave the way for the effective implementation of South African neo-colonial aims in a continent which the Nationalist Government has always regarded as its "hinterland".

We reject in no uncertain terms Vorster's claim to be acting as an "honest broker" in the negotiations which have started. In pursuit of this kind of "solution", Vorster is going all out to exploit a number of factors which he hopes will weaken independent Africa's resolve to continue its support of the liberation forces.

He is trying to frighten the neighbouring African states by warning them that any kind of conflict near their borders can lead to Israeli-type strikes by his own military forces against them, and the ultimate development of a Vietnam-scale war. He is hoping that a free Mozambique will be so burdened by the legacy of centuries of Portuguese

colonialism that it will be vulnerable to South African economic pressure. He is hoping to persuade other neighbouring territories, and especially Zambia, who have made enormous sacrifices in their principled reduction of trade links with the white states of Southern Africa, that "peaceful co-existence" would alleviate some of their short-term economic difficulties.

Vorster is obviously banking on these and other similar factors when he supports or initiates the sort of negotiations which he hopes will lead to a settlement which will stop the Southern African revolution in its tracks.

In general we do not reject the idea of negotiation with an enemy as a matter of principle under any and all conditions. The purpose of people's armed struggle is to achieve the *political* aims of liberation, and there have been many examples — in Algeria, Guine Bissau, Mozambique, Angola — where protracted armed struggle was climaxed by political negotiations with an enemy ready to concede its inability to hold back the sweep of liberation. The crucial question is, therefore, not so much whether one talks settlement with the enemy, but whether in any given situation negotiations will in practice advance or retard the aims of the revolution.

In the case of the present talks we cannot but express apprehension and concern lest the outcome is influenced more by military and economic blackmail than by the undoubted sympathy which men like Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere and Khama have for the aspirations of their black brothers in unliberated Africa.

To accept anything less than majority rule in the present talks with Smith would be a victory for racist reaction. To dilute active support for the South African and Namibian liberation forces in the interests of a Zimbabwean settlement would be to pay an impermissible price — a price which would not only be against the interests of the South African and Namibian peoples but also against the long-term interests of the people in the whole of independent Africa. To negotiate the future of the oppressed majority in South Africa (for this is Vorster's sole interest in the Zimbabwe talks) with anyone but the national liberation movement in our country headed by the African National Congress would mean unprincipled surrender to the white supremacists.

A peace which leaves the Africans in thrall is no peace, but an incitement to greater and wider conflict.

BRAM FISCHER

The South African Government's heartless treatment of Bram Fischer, reported to be dying of cancer, reveals the true nature of the fascist Vorster regime and its implacable determination to make no concession to its opponents which might be misinterpreted as "weakness".

The medical evidence is that Bram Fischer has undiscovered primary cancer and secondary cancer in the brain and hip. At one time he was in a semi-coma, but at the beginning of February he was reported to have responded somewhat to treatment. However, the doctors held out no hope of his recovery, and shortly afterwards it was reported that his condition had deteriorated and he had lost the use of his legs.

Described as little more than a "skeleton" weighing only 42 kilos, Bram Fischer was still considered dangerous by the Minister of Justice Kruger who said he was not satisfied that Fischer would not continue with his Communist activities if he was released.

If Kruger means that Fischer is still a Communist, he is undoubtedly correct. Bram Fischer, one of the greatest sons of South Africa, showed throughout his life that he was single-minded in pursuit of his ideals, and was ready to sacrifice his career, his family and if necessary his life in the cause of South African liberation. Even with the shadow of death upon him, Fischer is not the sort of man who will change his mind to suit his own convenience or to placate his political enemies and persecutors. Bram Fischer is a Communist and nothing that Vorster, Kruger or any other petty fascist can do will ever make him abandon his principles.

The quite extraordinary campaign which has been waged in South Africa and abroad for the release of Bram Fischer is testimony to the high esteem in which the world holds both the man and the ideals for which he stood. And it is precisely for this reason that the Nationalist Government has refused to budge an inch and is determined to hound Fischer right to the brink of the grave.

For Fischer is a symbol of everything the Nationalist Government most hates and fears. He is not merely a great Afrikaner who was prepared to leave the laager and the volk; far worse in their eyes, he was prepared to espouse the cause of international communism, which he regarded as the only solution to the racial and class conflicts of his own country and the world at large.

In rejecting every plea for Fischer's release from prison, the Vorster regime is expressing its fear not just of Fischer but of the Communism to whose service he dedicated his life. They want to make it clear to every opponent to every rebel, that there will be no mercy for those who follow Fischer's example. They hope to frighten off potential recruits to the Communist cause.

Anti-fascists and anti-racists everywhere will draw the right conclusion — that of all their opponents, it is the Communists who are the most feared — because of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy which guides their thoughts and deeds, because of their organisation, the Communist Party, which works tirelessly despite every obstacle and discouragement to turn South Africa into a non-racial socialist state in which the exploitation of man by man will be eliminated once and for all.

Bram Fischer is one of many politicals, Communist and non-Communist, serving a sentence of imprisonment, and the demand for his release must be extended to cover the release of all political prisoners whose "offence" was the consequence of their detestation of the anti-human, anti-life creed of apartheid.

But one thing is certain, no matter what happens to Fischer and his comrades, the Nationalist Government by its inhuman viciousness in his case and others will only convince a wider and wider circle of people in South Africa and throughout the world that there can be no compromise with apartheid, and no rest until this evil regime is wiped from the face of the earth.

SPIRIT OF REVOLT

Signs are not lacking that the oppressed black peoples of South Africa reject Bantustans, "separate development" and all the other propaganda tricks of Vorster's racist government. Resistance is conducted openly on the mines and in the factories, where in the past few years hundreds of thousands of workers have defied the police terror to demand higher wages and better working conditions. The voice of resistance is also spreading ever more widely underground.

Recently circulating in South Africa was Issue No. 15 of the under-

ground organ of the South African Communist Party, *Inkululeko/Freedom*. It carried the full text of the Central Committee statement "No Compromise with White Supremacy", which was printed in the last issue of the *African Communist*. It also contained two further items which will be of interest to readers.

The first is an article discussing the Vorster Government's plans to establish dummy councils to represent the Coloured and Indian communities in South Africa. These councils can never lead to the independence and freedom of the Indian and Coloured peoples, says *Inkululeko/Freedom*. They are intended to promote the white supremacist aims of the Vorster government and to force the blacks into the strait-jacket of second-class citizenship. There is no way forward for either Indians or Coloureds "but to unite in mass struggle with the other oppressed blacks" and sweep apartheid into oblivion.

"In the FRELIMO leadership which is now steering Mozambique to independence there are not only Africans, but also Asians, Coloureds, whites", points out *Inkululeko/Freedom*. "Our South African liberation movement, led by the ANC, similarly unites democrats of all races and alone guarantees a full and equal place for all South Africans. Dummy parliaments are a distraction from the mass struggle on all fronts, by all our people, which will overthrow apartheid and set us free".

The second article, headed "Anti-Communism – a Threat to the Liberation Struggle", criticises Chief Gatsha Buthelezi for making use of his column in the *Rand Daily Mail* to launch an uncalled-for attack on the South African Communist Party and the science of Marxism-Leninism. *Inkululeko/Freedom* states:

"He deliberately distorts the character and composition of the SACP and demagogically declares that it is "extreme left whites" who wish to impose a "foreign ideology" upon the African people. Chief Buthelezi needs no reminding that since the latter half of the 'twenties the composition and membership of the SACP has been predominantly African. He should be aware that no amount of anti-communism can ever discredit in the eyes of the people such outstanding communist freedom-fighters as the late J. B. Marks, Albert Nzula and Johannes Nkosi, nor Moses Kotane, Bram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Yusuf Dadoo and many hundreds more.

"Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is one of the main platforms of the racists, fascists and capitalist exploiters throughout the world.

In our own country, South Africa, anti-communism serves as the ideological justification for the brutal fascist attacks on all progressive forces. It is this what Buthelezi should be writing about — instead of playing Vorster's game by attacking the communists.

“The science of Marxism-Leninism is the ideology and weapon of the working class throughout the world. It is no more foreign to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries than it is to all other countries be they in Africa, Asia, Latin America or Europe itself. It is only the reactionaries who make it out to be a ‘foreign ideology’ when they seek to justify the brutal suppression of progressive forces especially the toiling masses and its party, the Communist Party.

“The fascist Vorster regime has every reason to hate the communists because the communists want a total transformation of the socio-economic system in South Africa. The communists fight for a society in which the working people will own the mines, factories and the land; where there will be no exploitation of man by man, and where racism will be outlawed and eradicated for all time.

“Socialism on a world scale demonstrates its superiority over capitalism. Whilst the capitalist world is in the grip of dire economic crises, the socialist world is rapidly improving the material and cultural standards of its people. Whilst the imperialist world, led by the United States imperialism, exploits the workers and intervenes in the internal affairs of every country — the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union renders invaluable material and moral assistance to all people fighting for a better and brighter future. On behalf of our oppressed people, the ANC has conveyed to the socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, the movement's sincere gratitude for their continued and ever-increasing solidarity, both materially and morally, with our struggle.

“Buthelezi is absolutely incorrect where he claims that the dissidents who left the ANC to form the PAC did so because of the “confusion” and “disruption” caused by the “extreme left” (he means the communists). The truth is that the narrowminded chauvinists who formed the PAC behind the doors of the United States Information Office in Johannesburg did so because they were opposed to the progressive policies adopted by the ANC — especially the FREEDOM CHARTER. Far from disrupting and weakening the national liberation struggle of the black people, we communists have spared no effort to strengthen and

consolidate the unity of the oppressed masses under the banner of the ANC.

“The South African Communist Party is based on the workers and toilers of our land – our people accept the Party as their Party – its ranks and leadership are composed of devoted patriots who reflect the true aspirations of the masses. No amount of anti-communism from whatever quarter it may emanate, will dissuade the SACP from playing its historic role in the struggle to liberate our people from national oppression and all forms of exploitation”.

VUKANI – AWAKE

We would also like to welcome the appearance of the first issue of a new journal called *Vukani/Awake*, dated December 1974, which proclaims its support for the Congress Alliance headed by the African National Congress and its programme of democratic rights as set out in the Freedom Charter.

“*Vukani* will be a weapon to serve in the struggle to regain these rights and build the new society“, says the journal. “We want a free South Africa and we want it soon. To achieve this we need to understand more about the programme, strategy and tactics of our movement. *Vukani* will assist by informing you of many of these things. We do this because *our revolution is not a revolution of a few men at the top*. We are for a people’s revolution, a revolution such as envisaged by the Freedom Charter”.

While pledging support for the heroic fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, *Vukani* stresses: “But this is only one side of our struggle. *A revolution is what we fight for and a revolution is not only/always a military struggle*. People revolt *against* some order and *for* some new order”. It will be the aim of *Vukani* to keep clearly before the people the image and ideals of the new South Africa for which they are fighting.

Welcoming the collapse of the Caetano regime in Portugal, the advance of Mozambique and Angola towards independence, and the recent favourable developments for the liberation movements in southern

Africa, *Vukani* declares:

“The struggle for southern Africa, for a truly free South Africa now operates in infinitely more favourable circumstances. This does not mean that the revolution in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or Namibia or South Africa will be next year. It may be soon. But we must not under-estimate the deviousness of the enemy, his armoury of lies and the array of stalling tactics, window dressing, use of stooges, “innocent assistants” of his policies, all to retain power. We must also not under-estimate the imperialist stake in apartheid. America, Britain, West Germany, France, Japan and other capitalist countries have heavy investments in South Africa. They are all averse to change that would reduce the huge profits that they derive from Black slave labour.

“These factors mean that we must be on our guard. While victory is closer, it is not round the corner. While we operate in better conditions, we cannot take it easy. We in South Africa must continue to operate with maximum security. Workers, students and other democratic sections of the population must meet secretly and only with those they can trust.

“We must prepare to assist our cadres from Umkhonto and do political work ourselves. We must be sufficiently organized and disciplined ourselves that the liberation movement can advance so much easier.

“WE DON’T WANT THIS APARTHEID!

“FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

“MAYIBUYE AFRIKA! AFRIKA! AFRIKA!

“AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONA!”

MINE LABOUR CRISIS

South Africa’s biggest and most important industry — gold mining — faces a critical labour shortage of such dimensions that only a complete restructuring of the industry will in the long run provide a solution. And under capitalism and apartheid, such a solution seems almost incapable of achievement.

Since the Carletonville massacre of September 1973, when 11 miners were shot dead by the police after asking for higher wages, there have

been a succession of clashes on the mines in the Transvaal and Free State, bringing the total deaths in the last two years near to the 100 mark, with the numbers of injured running into several hundred. The *Johannesburg Star* reported on January 18, 1975 "The grim totals for the past five months read like an indictment: 37,000 striking mine-workers, 22 fatalities and more than 160 other casualties in 16 strikes or disturbances. At least 4,750 men have been repatriated, are awaiting repatriation or have made their way home during the past three months before serving their full contracts".

Towards the end of November 1974 the President of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. A. W. S. Schumann, said the gold mines were operating with only 78 per cent of their requirements of Black underground labour, and the position was expected to grow worse.

"The total underground labour force on gold mines is about 274,000 compared with 322,000 a year ago", he said. This meant that Black underground requirements fell short by 75,000 men.

Schumann said overall production of gold was being adversely affected. With further riots, killings and repatriation of workers since then, the position today must be far worse. And the mining bosses have only themselves to blame, because it has been the shocking wages and conditions of the mineworkers which have been responsible for all the trouble.

The statistics are indeed an indictment!

Labour on the mines is so unattractive that Africans from South Africa refuse to work there, and almost 80 per cent of the mine labour force has been recruited from outside South Africa in recent years, mostly from Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique. And it is precisely this factor which is now causing the mining bosses the greatest concern.

The Chamber of Mines can foresee a situation developing where the mines can be held to ransom by foreign labour. The shootings at Carletonville led to strained relations with Lesotho, five of whose nationals were amongst those killed. And Basotho miners have been involved in the recent troubles because of the introduction of a new regulation by the Lesotho Government which compulsorily defers 60 per cent of the mineworkers' pay.

Thus labour "peace" in the South African mines can be disrupted because of decisions taken by a foreign government over which South Africa has no direct control. Another example was the total ban by the

Banda Government on the recruiting of mine labour in Malawi imposed in April 1974 following the death of 74 Malawi mineworkers in the crash at Francistown of the plane which was ferrying them home.

The impending independence of Mozambique is another cause for alarm among the mineowners, and South African security police and their informers have been active on the mines to detect any sign of FRELIMO influence among the workers who hail from Mozambique. The Chamber of Mines fears that the new Mozambique government will either suspend all recruiting of labour for the South African mines or impose such stringent conditions that it will no longer be possible for Mozambican workers to be exploited in South Africa as ruthlessly as they were when the Caetano regime was in power.

Seeing the shape of things to come, Chamber of Mines President Mr. A. W. S. Schumann, in his speech at the end of November 1974 already referred to, called for the abandonment of the migratory labour system.

“From today we must cease to think in terms of a Black labour force which will continue indefinitely to be migratory and unskilled. We must begin to think in terms of a Black labour force which must consist increasingly of blacks who have adopted mining as a career”.

Under the recent agreement for the promotion of black labour on the mines reached between the Chamber, the white miners' union and the government, 12,915 black team leaders and 2,877 “artisans' aides” had been appointed in the first nine months of the operation of the new scheme. In that period the wastage of team leaders amounted to 992 a month and of artisans' aides to 201 a month.

But if labour from independent black countries must now be regarded as unreliable and possibly even dangerous, how was the new stable force envisaged by the Chamber of Mines to be lured to the mines?

Partly by increasing wages. In November 1974 the Chamber of Mines announced that starting pay for underground workers was to be increased by one third in a bid to attract 50,000 black South Africans to the mines each year. The increase – from R1.20 to R1.60 a shift – meant that starters underground would earn more than three times what they earned before May 1973. This in itself is a damning commentary on the starvation wages prevailing in the industry up to that point, and even the recent increases have been largely nullified by inflation.

Another recruiting ground for the Chamber of Mines has been

opened up in Rhodesia. It was announced in January 1975 that the Rhodesian Government had signed an agreement to provide mine labour to South Africa on yearly contracts. In Rhodesia mining novices get a minimum of only 26 cents a shift underground, so that the South African wage of between R1.20 and R1.60 can be expected to produce some results.

But the Rhodesian Government is also asking for trouble by decreeing that after three months, 60 per cent of the workers' wages will be deferred and put into Post Office savings bank accounts for the workers who (just like their counterparts in Lesotho) have at no point been consulted about this arrangement.

The Chamber of Mines is also scouring agricultural areas and homelands in South Africa in search of labour. "We know that there is unemployed labour in large numbers in the agricultural areas", said Mr. Schumann in his November speech.

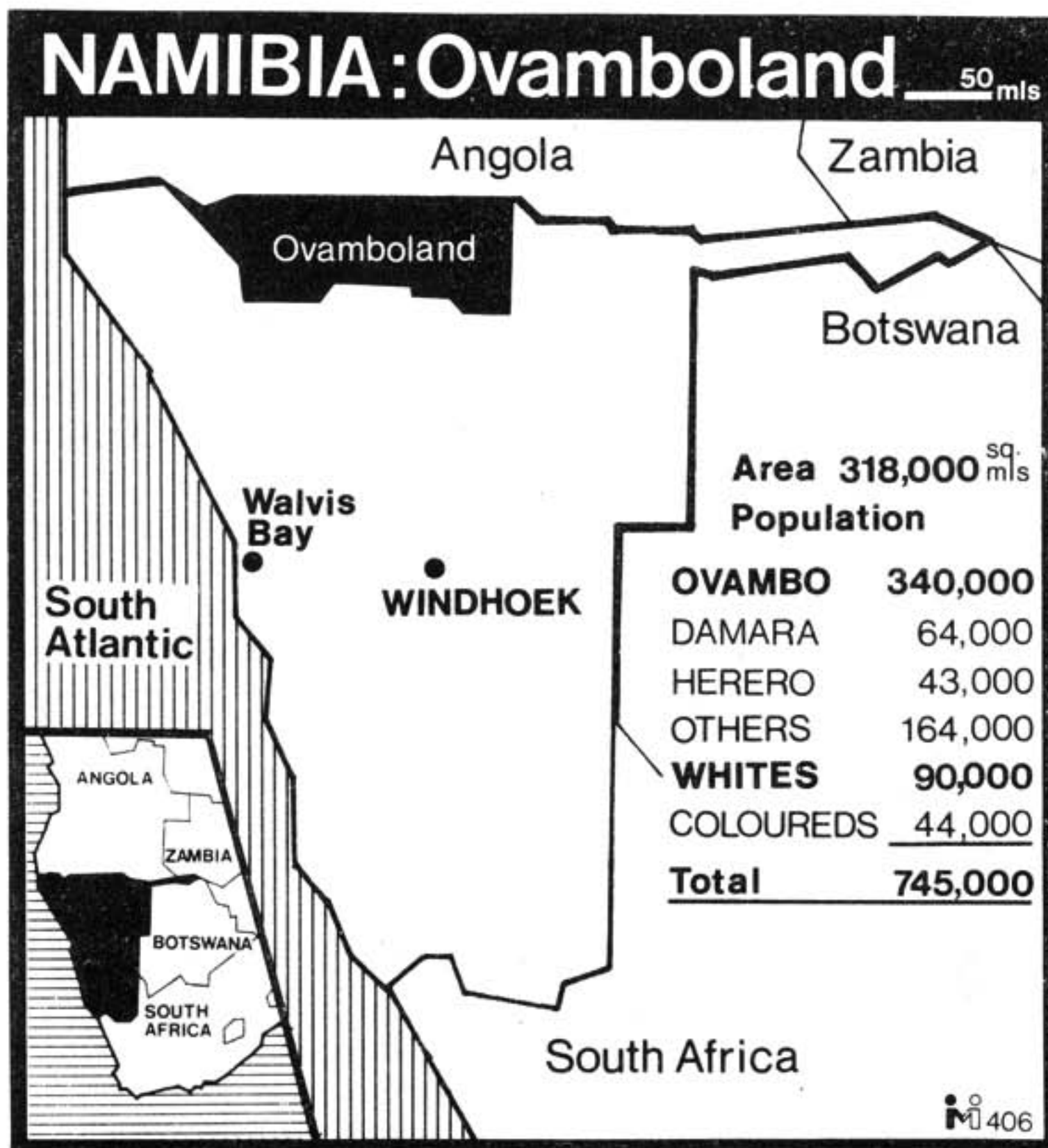
So much for the Vorster Government's claim that unemployment amongst Africans in South Africa is minimal!

But even these measures can only provide temporary relief for the Chamber of Mines. One way or another the Chamber is likely to find the recruitment of labour either inside or outside South Africa becoming ever more difficult.

The mining bosses are rapidly coming to the conclusion that people give more trouble than machines, and hope to overcome some of their problems through mechanisation. The *Star* reported on January 25, 1974, that Gold Fields of South Africa was conducting experiments with a mining system which could eliminate stoping by extracting the gold reef with boring machines.

"According to Dr. A. H. Taute, technical director of GFSA, reef boring could reduce underground labour by 50 per cent . . . This is of great importance in view of the shortage of black workers and rising wage bills".

In the long run, there can be no solution for those who put profits before people. The industrial revolution was a sort of mechanisation, and look what is happening in the capitalist world today? Only under socialism can the productivity of machines and labour be harmonised to the benefit of the whole community, because the production and distribution of goods will be determined by the criteria of social use and not financial profitability.



THE BATTLE FOR NAMIBIA

The South African Government has claimed that the 55 per cent poll registered in the Owambo elections in January 1975 is a complete vindication of its Bantustan proposals for the settlement of the Namibia dispute. In the first election in August 1973, only 2.5 per cent of the Owambo electorate bothered to go to the polls. The increased poll this time, claims the Government, proves the Owambo people are prepared to accept "separate development".

Even the Johannesburg *Star*, commenting in an editorial on January 20 on "the chorus of Government mouthpieces hailing the election as a

triumph for apartheid", was constrained to add:

"This type of instant analysis, bending over backwards and sideways to reach conclusions favourable to Government policy, is a form of self-delusion which could seriously jeopardise the second phase of Operation Detente – Pretoria's graceful withdrawal from South West. In realistic terms, it remains true that nobody has won in the Owambo elections".

The first point to make about the Owambo elections is that they were held in an atmosphere of organised terror, following 17 months of persecution of SWAPO activists by police and tribal chiefs which landed several top SWAPO leaders in jail under the Terrorism Act and forced between 2,000 and 3,000 SWAPO followers to flee the country. Even the few journalists who were allowed into the territory to observe the elections testified to the coercion which was used to force voters to the poll. In the towns in the police zone, employers threatened non-voters with the sack.

The second point to make is that free elections are impossible so long as emergency regulations remain in force giving the chiefs despotic powers – which they used, for example, to administer public and degrading floggings to hundreds of men, women and children who opposed the Government's policy.

The third point to make is: who counted the votes? The allegation has been made that some chiefs, Government nominees, cast votes for their whole tribe. In the first three days of the election, only 10,000 people went to the polls. Can we really believe that a further 56,000 voters were hustled into the polling booths in the remaining two days? Or did some zealous Government official concoct a figure to suit his masters in Pretoria?

Finally, how can this be described as a free election when half the members of the Owambo legislature are nominated by the Government – 42 seats out of a total of 84. The 42 elected seats were contested by 111 "independent candidates", but nobody knows what they stood for. The elections were boycotted by SWAPO.

The *Star* was right when it said "nobody has won in the Owambo elections". But it was wrong when it implied that Pretoria had any intention of carrying out a "graceful withdrawal from South West". We prefer to believe the statement of the executive committee of the South West Africa People's Organisation, made at a press conference in

Windhoek on January 17, 1975:

“Dear Namibians — do not be deceived that South Africa has changed its attitude to Namibia. So far, it has only changed its tactics. South Africa is trying to keep Namibia by pretending to let it go”.

The statement repeated that “SWAPO of Namibia has fought for, and will go on fighting for, an independent, unitary state of Namibia . . . Namibian territorial integrity is absolute and inviolable. It is not open to discussion, in any quarter”.

SWAPO rejected Vorster’s projected multi-racial talks in Namibia because they were tribally orientated; and it announced its withdrawal, from the National Convention in Namibia because the Convention had accepted the division of Namibia on tribal lines.

The statement continued: “SWAPO believes that in the next few months further onslaughts will be made upon SWAPO — alone — by the Boer racists. They may use new ways, more subtle than the old, hoping that the world will be deceived. But these tricks will also fail, as everything has failed in the past. They cannot kill SWAPO, for SWAPO is the idea of Namibia”.

SWAPO alleged that imperialist elements in certain countries had been trying to use the National Convention and some of its members as their puppets, for their own selfish ends. SWAPO warned: “Neither the people of Namibia nor our brothers throughout Africa will tolerate neo-colonialist intervention in our domestic affairs. The people of Namibia are not deceived. They will strike down and smash this evil, wherever it appears”.

One of those who suffered most at the hands of Vorster’s gestapo has been David Meroro, the 57-year-old chairman of SWAPO in Namibia, who was arrested on February 8, 1974, and viciously tortured while held in solitary confinement in the police cells in Windhoek. Detained under the notorious Terrorism Act, the police found it hard to pin any terrorism on him, and when he was finally brought to court in July 1974 he was charged only with being in possession of the illegal *African Communist*.

Meroro was released on bail of R100 and the case was adjourned to September, then again to October, then to January, and on January 13, adjourned once more sine die because the magistrate was ill. At a time when Vorster is boasting of his efforts to achieve “detente” in southern Africa, the trial of David Meroro can only be an embarrassment to him.

THESE “ALLIES” ARE NOT OUR FRIENDS

The African Communist has received through the post a copy of *LSM News*, Volume 1, Issue 3, dated December 1974, described as the quarterly organ of the Liberation Support Movement whose headquarters are in Richmond, British Columbia, Canada. Normally we would not have paid attention to the contents of a journal of this type, but because a number of liberation movements in Africa have allowed themselves or their leaders to be promoted under LSM auspices, we think it as well that they should know the motives of those they may accept, albeit unknowingly, as their disinterested allies, but who in fact are vigorously pursuing political aims of their own which often conflict with those of the liberation movements themselves.

The Liberation Support Movement is not a plain and simple all-party support movement like the British Anti-Apartheid Movement or the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine-Bissau, which back the aims of the liberation movements of Africa without advancing an independent political platform of their own. To quote the words of LSM chairman Don Barnett in an article “LSM: Problems in Theory, Strategy and Practice”,

“LSM, as stated earlier, is a relatively small, openly Marxist-Leninist organisation which devotes a considerable portion of its energies toward advancing revolutionary developments and struggles in the ‘Third World’ ”.

Barnett does not state what the remainder of LSM’s energies are devoted to, but his article and that of other contributors in this issue of *LSM News* make it clear that LSM is an independent political organisation with its own policy and programme. In the words of a fly-leaf inserted in the journal, the purpose of *LSM News* is “to let people know about LSM — our practice, politics, questions and contradictions — in the struggle for international socialism”.

So here we have a Marxist-Leninist organisation engaged in the struggle for international socialism. But what kind of Marxism-Leninism does LSM espouse, and what sort of international socialism is it struggling for? Barnett is largely silent about this, referring his readers to earlier issues of *LSM News* which we have so far been unable to obtain. But Barnett and other contributors to this issue of *LSM News* make it quite clear that the Liberation Support Movement is an enemy of the

international communist movement, and especially hostile to the Soviet Union, which is variously described in language typical of the “new left” as “revisionist”, “imperialist”, “hegemonistic” and what have you.

Contributor Frank Giese, in an article entitled “US Fascism and American Workers”, declaring that “the Soviet Union and its satellites . . . may well be lost to the cause of socialism for the present period”, sums up LSM philosophy in the following passage:

“The principal contradiction of our time is that between the imperialist bourgeoisie of the metropolises and the super-exploited peoples of the ‘Third World’. The role of ‘proletariat’, the revolutionary agent, falls with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In terms of Mao’s military strategy, the underdeveloped ‘countryside’, with its vast human resources dwelling in desert, jungle and bush, will surround and engulf the imperialist ‘cities’, constituted by the industrialised capitalist nations”.

In another article LSM members Beth Youhn and Carol Wright, reporting on a visit to China, state: “The Chinese are correctly concerned with the growth of revisionism, especially where it has seized state power as in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Their struggle against the social imperialism of the Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and their own negation of revisionism — The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — have had an enormous and healthy impact on the international socialist movement . . . Many US and Canadian organisations rightly denounce Soviet social imperialism around the world, and the corresponding bankruptcy of the CPC (Canada) and the CPUSA”.

And so on and so forth. We need hardly emphasise that these naive (or perhaps not so naive) formulations have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. The international conference of 75 Communist and Workers’ Parties held in Moscow in 1969 declared that the main contradiction in the world today was that “between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and reaction”, adding that “three mighty forces of our time — the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement — are coming together in the struggle against imperialism”.

Imperialism remained a constant threat to the peace and independence of the world’s peoples, maintained the Moscow meeting, stating:

“The existing situation demands united action of communists and

all other anti-imperialist forces, so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war . . . The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Every liberation movement receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, and above all from the Soviet Union”.

Our party chairman, the late comrade J. B. Marks, declared the full adherence of the South African Communist Party to the Moscow conference decisions, and the 1970 augmented meeting of the Communist Party’s Central Committee proclaimed: “The struggle for the liberation of South Africa is an important and inseparable part of the world-wide fight against imperialism being waged by the socialist countries, the revolutionary working class and allied movements, and by the oppressed peoples and their movements for national freedom and independence. Each advance of these allied movements helps our cause and brings its victory closer; and so, too, our fight is of value and importance to all working people and anti-imperialists.

“It is the consistent policy of the Party to work for the building of firmer ties of solidarity and friendship between all engaged in the common struggle, and in the first place of the comradely links of working class internationalism and common action among the vanguard detachments of the struggle: the Parties of the world Communist movement”.

We have no hesitation in saying that the Liberation Support Movement, in seeking to drive a wedge between the liberation movements of the entire Third World and the international Communist movement, is objectively serving the interests of imperialism. And we consider it necessary to draw attention to the dangerous policies of the LSM because it has to some extent succeeded in penetrating the ranks of many liberation movements in Africa, whose leaders have, doubtless ignorant of what LSM really stands for, allowed themselves to make use of the facilities for propagating their cause which LSM has placed at their disposal.

In his article in *LSM News*, chairman Don Barnett shows that he is not above criticising leaders of African Liberation Movements who have the temerity to look elsewhere than to LSM for support. Liberation movements are condemned for accepting support from “religious, left-liberal and philanthropic organisations”. It is clear, says Barnett, “that

despite the many well-meaning people involved in such work, they are sometimes financed and manipulated so as to advance the interests of the international bourgeoisie . . . largely by helping to pave the way for neo-colonial accommodations in the remaining colonial and white racist ruled territories of Africa”.

He even accuses some liberation movements of prostituting their principles in order to broaden the base of support from these organisations. “At the tactical level, this has meant a toning down where necessary of their Marxist orientation and socialist aspirations”.

Singled out for special attack is MPLA leader Dr. Neto, who led a delegation to Canada in May 1974 under the auspices of another Canadian support organisation. Possibly regarding Dr. Neto as lost to LSM, Barnett delivers himself of the presumptuous judgment that Dr. Neto “never laid claim to being a military leader and, from personal experience and observation, I would say his main weakness lay in the area of political organising — i.e. getting the right people in the right positions and efficiently co-ordinating their activities and responsibilities”. Doubtless Mr. Barnett could have made a better job of it.

ZANU also comes under the lash for having refused LSM facilities to visit liberated areas in Zimbabwe, and Barnett says: “We have to remain somewhat sceptical regarding their claims to ‘liberated’ areas and population”. When the August 1974 issue of the ZANU organ *Zimbabwe News* printed a blistering attack on LSM as a “dubious, half-baked and reactionary” support group, Barnett confessed that this “came as something of a surprise”.

After reading this issue of *LSM News*, we can only express our belief that any liberation movement which has seriously considered its stand in international politics cannot continue to have any sort of relationship with LSM, whose aims and objects have nothing in common with those of any recognised liberation organisation anywhere in Africa.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S YEAR

In terms of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in December 1972, the United Nations has designated 1975 as International Women’s Year with a view to “ensure the full realisation of the rights of women and their advancement on the basis of the Declaration on the Elimination

of Discrimination against Women (1967)".

The General Assembly invited all member states and interested organisations to participate. Relevant dates to remember in 1975 are International Women's Day on March 8, and South African Women's Day on August 9.

The UN Commission on the Status of Women is sponsoring a conference to be held in Mexico City from June 23 to July 4, 1975. But by far the most important event of International Women's Year is likely to be the World Congress for International Women's Year to be held in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, from October 20 to 24, 1975.

A preliminary international meeting to launch this World Congress was held on November 2 and 5, 1974, at Tihany, in the Hungarian People's Republic. The meeting was attended by representatives of 34 international organisations, 11 regional organisations, 34 national organisations and 20 national preparatory committees coming from 55 countries as guests of the National Council of Hungarian Women.

The United Nations Organisation was represented at the Tihany meeting by Helvi Sipilä, Assistant Secretary-General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs who also holds the post of Secretary-General for International Women's Year. Representatives of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission (UNESCO) also attended. Africa was represented at the meeting by representatives of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the All-African Women's Organisation, and representatives of women's organisations in various African countries. The South African representative was Ray Simons, delegate of the African National Congress.

Freda Brown of Australia, Vice-President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, was elected President of the International Preparatory Committee for the Berlin Congress. The All-African Women's Organisation, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation and other international organisations are also represented on the executive of the Preparatory Committee.

In an appeal to women all over the world and to all those who agree with the objectives of International Women's Year, the International Preparatory Committee addresses itself:

"to those who believe that all forms of discrimination against women

constitute a violation of human rights;

“to those who recognise the equal responsibility of men and women in economic, political, social and cultural life, in the family and rearing of children;

“to those who consider that the full development of society is possible only to the extent that women attain their total and real equality;

“to those who consider that the equal contribution of men and women is decisive for human progress, for social justice, democracy, national independence and peace”.

The appeal continues: “Inspired by the objectives of International Women’s Year, the International Preparatory Committee calls upon them to make the World Congress a forum open to all opinions, to dialogue, where all points of view can be expressed, a forum that strengthens mutual understanding and unity among the forces for equality, development, national independence and peace.

“Let us prepare for and hold the World Congress together.

“Together let us make it the culminating event in International Women’s Year”.

The problem of the emancipation of women has especial significance to us in Africa. To help promote the aims of the Berlin congress and International Women’s Year we print in this issue extracts from an outstanding speech by FRELIMO President Samora Machel delivered at the opening of the First Conference of Mozambican Women on March 4, 1973. Every word in Samora Machel’s speech is as relevant today as it was on the day it was delivered, and we commend it to our readers as a profound contribution to revolutionary thinking on a subject which is of concern to liberation movements as well as independent governments on the entire African continent.

PALME DUTT – FRIEND OF AFRICA

The passing of Rajani Palme Dutt in December last will leave a gap in the ranks of world communism which will not easily be filled. His death at the age of 78 has silenced one of the most profound and influential Marxist thinkers and writers of the English-speaking world, whose influence extended far beyond the shores of his native Britain

for over 50 years.

Dutt was a founder member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and a lifelong friend and staunch supporter of the Soviet Union, which he regarded as the sheet-anchor of the international Communist movement. Perhaps his most prominent role on the world communist scene was associated with the Marxist journal *Labour Monthly*, which he edited from its inception in 1922 until the time of his death. Month by month, throughout the English-speaking world, Communists – and militants from the national movements and the trade unions – turned to *Labour Monthly*'s editorial columns – and especially to "Notes of the Month" signed simply "R.P.D." – for an always fresh, always incisive commentary on the world and the British scene. In his writing Dutt possessed a talent for vivid illustration and passionate involvement, sharpened like the keen edge of a surgeon's scalpel to dissect the events of our time and lay bare their inner truths. 'Notes of the Month' alone made RPD – Raji as he was to all who knew him – the most important English Marxist thinker, analyst, and propagandist of his time.

But this almost unparalleled career with *Labour Monthly* was only a part of the contribution of this quiet, self-effacing man to the cause of socialist revolution. For 43 years, until he retired voluntarily to make way for younger men, he was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and for a considerable time its chairman. In addition to that and *Labour Monthly*, he found time to write a series of works which extended his contribution and influence far beyond Britain – to the ranks of the world communist movement, and especially to the ranks of the revolutionaries of the British Empire.

His first major work – *Two Internationals* – is still the leading Marxist appraisal of the histories and significance of the Second and Third Internationals. That work was followed in 1934 with a pioneering, brilliantly original analysis of the roots and class origins of fascism, and of the revolutionary answer to it, titled *Fascism and Social Revolution*. Six years later, there appeared his most important work, *India Today* – a deep-rooted Marxist analysis of the manner and consequences of British imperialism in India, of the scope and the limitations of Indian nationalism, and of the nature of the relationship between national struggle and the socialist movement. That work stands as the classic

testimony to the towering intellect of Dutt. It has served as one of the seminal texts which raised a whole generation of Marxist revolutionaries from amongst the militants in the national liberation struggles in Asia and Africa. That classic work he carried further, extending its frontiers to the whole of the British imperial system and its colonial conflicts, with *Britain's Crisis of Empire*, published in 1949.

Dutt was never the retiring scholar, for all the shyness of his manner, and all the scholarliness of his works. He was an active, class-conscious communist, engaged in struggle, committed to a cause from which he never wavered. Through every crisis of our times, through wars, revolutions, counter-revolutions and confusions, Dutt stood like a rock, unwavering. In every crisis of his time, his was the voice that held his communist colleagues together against currents of confusion and despair, providing both the revolutionary passion and the Marxist understanding which enabled the communist movement to weather its greatest challenges. Such a voice will be sorely missed everywhere, in the counsels of world communism as in Britain. But though the live voice is silenced by death, the heritage remains in the written record of his work. It rings, and will continue to ring through our century, wherever men struggle for freedom and for socialism.



Victory in Europe-30 years after

The photograph on the facing page records the hoisting of the flag of victory by Soviet soldiers on the Reichstag in Berlin in May, 1945, marking the triumphant end of the war in Europe and the destruction of the blood-stained Hitlerite regime which had brought death and devastation to millions of peoples throughout the world.

Today, 30 years afterwards, democratic and progressive forces everywhere will celebrate the anniversary of this historic moment. They will acknowledge once again mankind's debt to the Red Army for "tearing the guts" out of the Nazi army; to the unity of the Allied forces which brought about final victory over the Axis powers and saved the world from fascism.

To make this anniversary meaningful, Communists everywhere will rededicate themselves to the struggle to create a new society in which the exploitation of man by man will be ended once and for all, and mobilise the peoples of the whole world to defeat the threat of war, and wipe the last vestiges of imperialism, fascism and racism from the face of the earth.

HOW I BECAME A COMMUNIST

by Angela Davis

The outstanding black militant and central committee member of the Communist Party of the United States, Angela Davis has identified herself completely with the liberation struggle of the oppressed black masses of South Africa. In December 1974 she undertook a quick visit to London to take part in the campaign for the release of South African political prisoners. In an interview with the AFRICAN COMMUNIST reproduced below she discusses the relationship between the issues of class and race which are common to the U.S. and South Africa.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST: We and the people back home would be interested to know how and why a black woman in the United States of America should decide to become a Communist, to accept the science of Marxism-Leninism and to see the science of Marxism-Leninism as the real way out of solving the fundamental problems that face mankind today.

ANGELA DAVIS: My membership of the Communist Party came about directly as a result of my participation in the black liberation movement. It was through the various movements, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panther Party, and other organisations in the black liberation movement that I came into contact with black Communists. It was so clear that their theoretical perspective, their analysis of the situation of black people as a result of their Marxist-Leninist training provided them with the most effective strategy and tactics to bring about the liberation of black people.

In a broader sense of course I am a member of the Communist Party because I understand the inseparable relationship between the oppression of black people as a people, as a race, and the drive of monopoly capitalism. Racism is a direct result of the insatiable drive for profits on the part of monopoly capitalism. If we look at the United States we can understand the way in which the kidnapping of my ancestors from the continent of Africa and the placing of black people in bondage in the south provided the foundation for the agricultural capitalism which grew up in the south.

Today, if we look at the economic situation in the United States we see that literally billions of dollars, 30 billion dollars to be exact, are acquired by monopoly capital in super-profits — that is to say, 30 billion dollars over and above the profits which they would receive if black people and other people of colour received the same wages for corresponding work that white workers receive.

That in itself dictates the strategy which involves the overturning of the entire apparatus, the entire capitalist system. If we want to get at the root of the oppression of black people, if we want to get at the root of racism, we have to talk about capitalism, monopoly capitalism; and the Communist Party is the only organisation in our country which has an effective strategy for the ultimate overthrow of the reign of monopoly capitalism.

That in essence is the reason why I am a member of the Communist Party. Of course I don't confine my perspective and my vision to that of my people because the struggle is the struggle of working people whoever and wherever they are. Black people have a special position because of the role in the working class which they play. Ninety-four per cent of the black population are working people, and in key areas of industry black people constitute between 30 and 50 per cent of the

entire working force. So it's very clear that if you are talking about the liberation of black people you must also talk about the liberation of the working class.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST: How do you see the relationship and the inter-connection between the struggle of the black people — and in this category I would include the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos and the Indians — and the struggle of the black people in South Africa?

ANGELA DAVIS: Of course our people, black people in the United States feel a very special relationship to our sisters and brothers in Africa because Africa is the continent from which our ancestors were kidnapped. Africa is in a very real sense our mother country. We feel that the most effective way we can express our solidarity with our sisters and brothers struggling against oppression, struggling against apartheid and colonialism in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa, is by struggling against the leader of global imperialism, namely the United States.

In the context of that struggle we must raise demands for the freedom of political prisoners in Southern Africa. We must convey to our people the necessity to support the liberation movements which express the aspirations of the people of Southern Africa and especially South Africa. We must put our most vigorous support behind the African National Congress because the history of the ANC indicates that it represents the needs, the interests, the aspirations and desires of the people of South Africa.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST: How has the philosophy of people like Garvey and Stokely Carmichael, "back to Africa" and "Africa for the Africans" — how has this affected the struggle of the black people in the United States of America itself?

ANGELA DAVIS: If we start from the standpoint of anti-imperialist solidarity with peoples struggling in Africa, that means that the struggle against imperialism will dictate the particular way in which we express our support.

When people say that Africans should return to Africa, there are two ways in which I would deal with that question. First of all I would say it is entirely wrong and incorrect for black people in the United States

to go to those countries in Africa which have achieved independence as a result of many many decades, even hundreds of years of struggle, whose people have finally achieved something, and then act as parasites, no less, getting the benefit of what has been achieved by the people of Africa.

Our job, in the first place, is to fight imperialism at home, to fight within the very headquarters of global imperialism because that is the most effective way, we feel, we can assist our sisters and brothers in Africa.

Now then there is the other side which is also important. If black people possess certain skills which may be needed by a liberation movement, which may be needed by a newly independent country that is attempting to withdraw from the orbit of imperialism, then of course it is our international responsibility to contribute those skills. But they should do this only at the invitation of the people, or at the invitation of the government. Our struggle is to fight for the liberation of black people in the United States and that must be done within the context of the fight for the liberation of all working people at home.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST: Can we now come to a question which has had some very important connotations for our people in South Africa, and has also had great significance for the black people of the United States – black consciousness. Can you, as a black American communist, tell us what connection you see between black consciousness and the science of Marxism-Leninism? What impact has black consciousness had on the struggle of the Communist Party of the United States? What significance do you think black consciousness can have for the Communist Party of South Africa which has been trying to create a working-class organisation which transcends the bounds of racism and ethnic groupings and in which the workers and all those people who accept the science of Marxism-Leninism are prepared and committed to work for a socialist and communist society?

ANGELA DAVIS: I think that that is a very important question. It is a question we have had to grapple with for a very long time. First of all, we should be absolutely clear that it is extremely important for black people to attain a self-confidence and identity, something which the white ruling class has attempted to take away from us for so many

hundreds of years. The history of black people in the United States is a history of genocide in many respects, cultural genocide, psychological genocide, and it is extremely important for us to reassert our identity, to talk about the fact that the standards of the white dominant culture are not absolute. Black people, in the way we look, the way our hair is, and all those things, are good because that is the way we are. But at the same time we have to realise that that in itself cannot provide a strategy for liberation. Taken in isolation black consciousness can be used often by the ruling class, by the reactionaries to confuse our people.

Our strategy for liberation must depend on our position in relation to the means of production, our position in the economy of monopoly capital. Because we are almost all workers, any strategy for liberation must be a strategy for the liberation of the working class. That is the only way we are going to achieve the beneficial elements of liberation and that has to be socialism. That does not mean, however, that we must submerge all the problems that relate to us as a people, that we do not simultaneously wage a struggle for black liberation. That is important. The national question must be raised simultaneously with the class question.

There is a further issue which I think is equally important, and that is the necessity not only for black people, and by extension for Puerto Ricans and Chicanos and Asians and Indians to wage the struggle against racism, but also for our white workers, the working class as a whole to put up a vigorous struggle against racism. Why? Because racism not only serves as a weapon through which the ruling class is able to absorb billions of dollars in extra profits, but it serves to divide and confuse and divert the attention of the working class as a whole. And that is why we as Communists say that one of the central issues – in fact at this point in the history of our country and in fact in the history of the world with the balance of forces as they are, *the* central question confronting the working class is the question of racism. Only when white workers have learned that they must take the initiative in fighting racism will they understand the need for class unity, because racism historically and especially today has been used as a weapon with which the ruling class persuades the majority of white workers to fight against their black and brown and red and yellow sisters and brothers, sister and brother workers instead of focussing their attacks on the real enemy, on the monopolies.

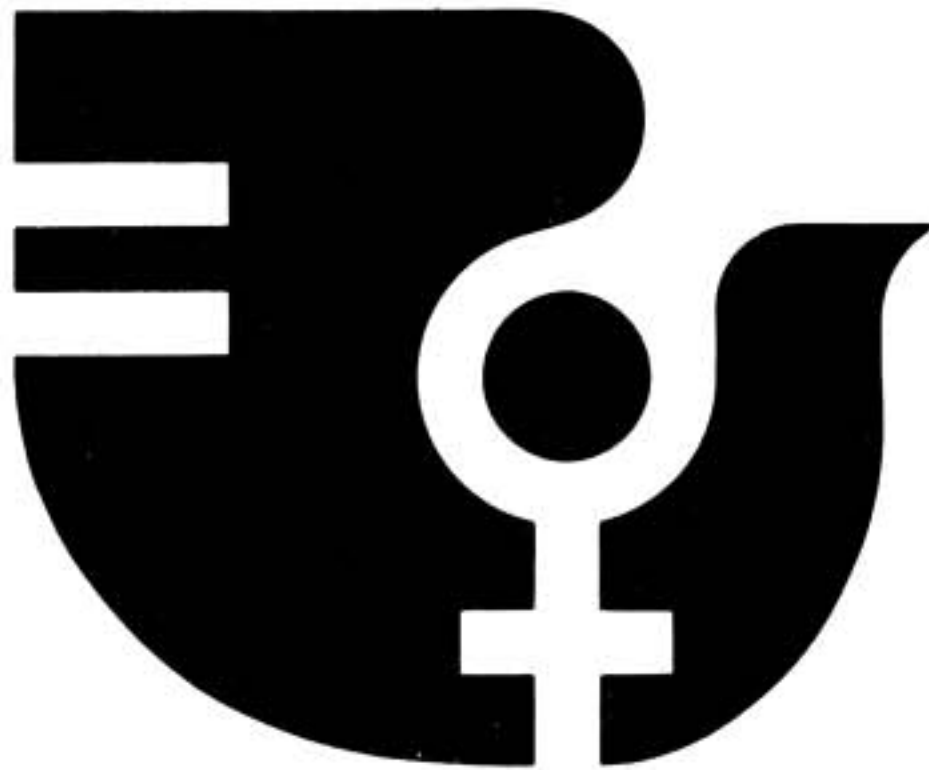
And so today we say working people must understand, white working people particularly, that the struggle against racism is a struggle for their own interests, is a struggle for class unity, a struggle without which we will not be able to lay the basis for a revolutionary battle for socialism.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST: Could you very briefly say something to our people in South Africa, and to people in the rest of Africa, about the role that the U.S. imperialist government is playing in so far as the liberation of the black people in South Africa is concerned?

ANGELA DAVIS: There is no doubt about the fact that economically, politically and morally the U.S. Government is one of the major obstacles to the completion of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The alliance between Pretoria and Washington has expressed itself not only in the fact that there are hundreds of the largest multi-national corporations based in the United States with subsidiaries in South Africa but also in the fact that within the United Nations and on the international scene the U.S. Government is one of the main and most vigorous supporters of the regime of apartheid. There were recently published the secret papers about "Operation Tarbaby" of whom the architect was Henry Kissinger. These papers disclosed that the U.S. imperialists not only accept the continued existence of the Vorster apartheid regime but they actively aid and abet that Government in order that they may have further ground for the operations of the transnational corporations that depend so heavily for their profits on the existence of countries abroad where there is cheap labour, cheap resources and so forth. So I think our responsibility at home, inside the United States, becomes that of exposing the collusion of the U.S. Government with the Vorster regime. It's not very difficult to prove because the very same racist policies that are being supported in South Africa are being inflicted on people of colour — black people, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Asians and Indians — inside the United States.

At this particular point our most important task is to seek out and develop concrete actions in support of the liberation struggle. We must develop a massive movement that will defend, aid, protect and support the African National Congress as it wages the struggle on the most dangerous front.

So I would like to use the occasion of this interview to make a vow to our sisters and brothers in South Africa that we as Communists in the United States, that we as participants in the struggle against racism and oppression, as participants in the anti-imperialist movement in general, are going to escalate our efforts and redouble our energies to transmit to the people of the United States the message of liberation which the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress are transmitting to the people of South Africa.



The United Nations official emblem for International Women's Year 1975. The emblem consists of a stylised dove, the biological symbol for women and the mathematical sign for equality.

Women's Liberation is Essential for the Revolution

In honour of International Women's Year, we reprint below extracts from a speech by SAMORA MACHEL, President of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), at the opening of the first conference of Mozambican Women on March 4, 1973.

The main purpose of the conference is to study questions concerning the emancipation of women, to find lines of action which will lead to their emancipation. But a preliminary question arises: why bother with the emancipation of women? And another: why call this conference now?

There are people among us, as our Movement is well aware, who feel that we should devote all our efforts to the struggle against colonialism and that the task of women's emancipation is therefore secondary because it will dissipate our forces. They further add that our present situation, with a shortage of schools, very few educated women and with women still bound by tradition, does not provide any basis for embarking upon consistent action, and that it is therefore necessary to wait for independence for the establishment of sound economic, social and educational foundations for launching the fight.

Yet others, giving a twisted interpretation of our Statutes, claim

that certain local traditions must be respected and that we cannot oppose them at this stage for fear of losing the support of the masses. They then ask why there is a need to emancipate women at this point, when the vast majority of women are indifferent to the matter. After all, they conclude, emancipation would be artificial, imposed on women by FRELIMO.

This is a very serious question. It demands careful study and clear thought.

THE NEED FOR EMANCIPATION

The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition for its victory. The main objective of the Revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentialities of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises.

Generally speaking, women are the most oppressed, humiliated and exploited beings in society. A woman is even exploited by a man who is himself exploited, beaten by the man who is lacerated by the *palmatoria*, humiliated by the man who is crushed under the boot of the boss and the settler.

How can the Revolution triumph without the liberation of women? Will it be possible to get rid of the system of exploitation while keeping one part of society exploited? One cannot only partially wipe out exploitation and oppression, one cannot tear up only half the weeds without even stronger ones spreading out from the half that has survived.

How then can one make a revolution without mobilising women? If more than half the exploited and oppressed people consist of women, how can they be left on the fringe of the struggle? To make a revolution it is necessary to mobilise all the exploited and oppressed, and consequently women as well. If it is to be victorious, the Revolution must eliminate the whole system of exploitation and oppression, liberating *all* the exploited and the oppressed. Therefore it must eliminate the exploitation and oppression of women, it is forced to liberate women.

Moreover, if we also consider the basic need for the revolution to be continued by the new generation, how can we ensure the revolutionary education of the generation which will carry on our work if mothers, the first educators, are marginal to the revolutionary process? How can one turn the homes of the exploited and the oppressed into cells of revolutionary struggle, centres for the diffusion of our line, encouraging the involvement of the family, if women remain apathetic to this process, indifferent to the society which is being built and deaf to the call of the people?

To say that women do not feel the need to liberate themselves, or that it is often FRELIMO, and not the women, which uphold women's emancipation is a paltry argument which cannot stand up to analysis. Women feel their subjection, they feel the need to change their situation. What happens is that the domination imposed by society, by stifling their initiative, often prevents them from expressing their aspirations, often prevents them from thinking of how to wage their struggle. It is here that FRELIMO intervenes. As the conscious vanguard of the women and men of Mozambique, of the oppressed people, FRELIMO formulates the line and indicates the methods of struggle.

It is essential that we understand this phenomenon so as to avoid false and futile debates.

THE RIGHT TIME TO LAUNCH THE FIGHT

The other question that arises is when is the right time to launch the struggle?

We cannot limit the revolutionary process to certain people while neglecting others, because this would halt the revolution, destroy it. The roots of an evil which we underestimate and decide to pull out at a later date become the roots of a cancer which can destroy us, invading the whole body, before we get to that 'later date.'

Under the present conditions, FRELIMO is no longer able to wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution. The precondition for advancing the armed struggle is to attack the very roots of exploitation. The idea of waiting until later to emancipate women is erroneous; it means allowing reactionary ideas to gain ground only to fight them when they are strong. It is like not fighting the alligator on the bank only to fight him in the middle of the river.

The armed struggle, acting like an incubator, has already created the conditions for the masses to be receptive to the ideas of progress and revolution. To avoid joining battle when conditions are ripe is lack of political foresight, an error of strategy

Today the conditions for launching a victorious battle really exist. FRELIMO's line has been internalised and developed in practice, our cadres are gaining experience, being tempered in the struggle, and the process of purifying our ranks has thus begun. The revolutionary process has been assured, the struggle has already been transformed into a revolution and national unity is becoming ideological unity.

The participation of women in the armed struggle, the principal task at our present historical stage, enables them to put our unity into practice and creates the conditions for transforming their consciousness, so that they feel their responsibilities, become consciously involved, undertake critical analysis and understand that society is created by ourselves.

So the wind of revolution blows, and with it, necessarily, the wind of women's emancipation. FRELIMO's Central Committee is making us hoist our sails, and this is a favourable moment for us to set sail.

THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION – THE STARTING POINT

To speak of the emancipation of women clearly implies that they are oppressed and exploited. It is important to understand the basis of that oppression and exploitation.

Let us begin by saying that the oppression of women is the result of their exploitation; oppression in society is always the result of imposed exploitation. Colonialism did not come to occupy our country for the purpose of arresting us, flogging us and beating us with the *palmatoria*. It invaded and occupied our country for the purpose of exploiting our wealth and labour. In order to exploit us, in order to quell our resistance to exploitation and prevent us from rebelling against it, it then introduced the system of oppression; physical oppression, through the courts, the police, the armed forces, imprisonment, torture and massacres; and spiritual oppression, through obscurantism, superstition and ignorance, designed to destroy the spirit of creative initiative, to kill the sense of justice and criticism, to reduce the individual to passivity and make him

accept his exploited and oppressed state as a normal thing. Humiliation and contempt came into being in the process, since he who exploits and oppresses tends to humiliate and despise his victims, regarding them as inherently inferior beings. And then racism appears, the supreme form of humiliation and contempt.

The mechanism of women's alienation is identical to the mechanism of the alienation of the colonised man in colonial society, or of the worker in capitalist society.

From the moment when early man started to produce more than he consumed, the material foundations were laid for the emergence of a stratum in society which would appropriate the fruits of the majority's labour. This appropriation of the product of the masses' labour by a handful of people in society is the essence of the system of the exploitation of man by man and the crux of the antagonistic contradiction which has divided society for centuries.

As soon as the process of exploitation was unleashed, women as a whole – like men – were subjected to the domination of the privileged strata. Women are also producers, and workers, but with specific characteristics. To possess women is to possess workers, unpaid workers, workers whose entire labour power can be appropriated without resistance by the husband, who is the lord and master. In an agrarian economy, marrying many women is a sure way of accumulating a great deal of wealth. The husband is assured of free labour which neither complains nor rebels against exploitation.

Hence the important role played by polygamy in the rural areas of a primitive agrarian economy. Society, realising that women are a source of wealth, demands that a price be paid for them. The girl's parents demand from their future son-in-law the payment of a bride-price – *lobolo* – before giving up their daughter. The woman is bought and inherited just like material goods, or any source of wealth.

But what is more important is that compared with, say, the slave, who is also a source of wealth and an unpaid worker, the woman offers her owner two added advantages. She is a source of pleasure and above all, she produces other workers, she produces new sources of wealth.

This last aspect is particularly significant. Society grants the husband the right to repudiate his wife and demand the re-payment of the *lobolo* should she prove barren, or if the husband thinks that she is. It can also be noted that in many societies, mindful of the value of the labour

power of the woman's children, the principle is established that the children belong to the mother's clan or family. In our society, it is also current practice for the children to continue to belong to the mother's family, especially if the husband has not paid the entire *lobolo*, that is, the purchase price for this wealth. This situation has led to the excessive emphasis on women's fertility and the transformation of the man-woman relationship into the mere act of procreation.

But a particular situation emerged. Owing to his control over the masses, the exploiter acquired vast riches, vast estates, large herds of cattle, gold and jewels and so on. Yet despite his wealth he was still mortal, like other men. The problem then of the fate of his wealth — in other words, the question of inheritance — became crucial. Women are the producers of heirs.

It is therefore clear that the exploitation of women and their consequent oppression starts in the system of private ownership of the means of production, in the system of exploitation of man by man.

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL MECHANISMS OF DOMINATION

A society based on private ownership of the means of production, on the exploitation of men, creates and imposes the ideology and culture which uphold its values and ensure its survival. The economic exploitation of women, their transformation into mere producers with no rights, at the service of their owners — whether husbands or fathers — requires the establishment of a corresponding ideology and culture, together with an educational system to pass them on. Obviously, this is not something which happens all once, but a process developed and refined over thousands of years of the society's existence.

Obscurantism is the beginning of the process. The general principle is to keep women in ignorance or give them only an essential minimum of education. Everywhere we find that illiteracy is higher among women, they are always a minority in schools, colleges and universities, even though they are the majority of the population.

Science has always been kept as man's monopoly, his exclusive domain, in the developed civilisations of the past as in capitalist society today. To keep women away from science is to prevent them from discovering that society is created as a function of certain specific interests

and that it is therefore possible to change society.

Obscurantism and ignorance go hand in hand with superstition and give rise to passivity.

All superstitions and religions find their most fertile soil among women, because they are submerged in the greatest ignorance and obscurantism. In our society, rites and ceremonies are the main vehicle for the transmission of society's concept of women's inferiority, and their subservience to men. It is here too that countless myths and superstitions are propagated with the express intention of destroying women's sense of initiative and reducing them to passivity.

Family education itself emphasises and reinforces this. From infancy the girl is brought up differently from the boy and a feeling of inferiority instilled in her.

None of this is surprising. As we have said, exploitative society promotes the ideology, culture and education that serves its interests. It does so with women, just as it does with colonised people and with workers in capitalist society. All are deliberately kept in ignorance, obscurantism and superstition with a view to making them resigned to their position, of instilling in them an attitude of passivity and servility.

This is where racism comes in. The colonised man is called a second class human being by virtue of his skin. The woman is called an inferior human being by virtue of her sex. In capitalist countries in Europe, they claim that women are creatures with long hair and short ideas.

The process of alienation reaches its peak when the exploited person, reduced to total passivity, is no longer capable of imagining that the possibility of liberation exists and in turn becomes a tool for the propagation of the ideology of resignation and passivity. It must be recognised that the centuries-old subjugation of women has to a great extent reduced them to a passive state, which prevents them from even understanding their condition.

THE NATURE OF THE ANTAGONISM

It is important to understand correctly the nature of the contradiction or contradictions involved, for only after understanding them will we be in a position to define the target of our attack and plan the appropriate strategy and tactics for our struggle.

We have seen that the basis of the domination of women lies in the system of economic organisation of society, private ownership of the means of production, which necessarily leads to the exploitation of man by man.

This means that, apart from the specific features of their situation, the contradiction between women and the social order is in essence a contradiction between women and the exploitation of man by man, between women and the private ownership of the means of production. In other words, it is the same as the contradiction between the working masses and the exploitative social order.

Let us be clear on this point. The antagonistic contradiction is not between women and men, but between women and the social order. The fact that they are exploited explains why they are not involved in all planning and decision-making tasks in society, why they are excluded from working out the concepts which govern economic, social, cultural and political life, even when their interests are directly affected.

This is the main feature of the contradiction: their exclusion from the sphere of decision-making in society. This contradiction can only be solved by revolution, because only revolution destroys the foundations of exploitative society and rebuilds society on new foundations, freeing the initiative of women, integrating them in society as responsible members and involving them in decision-making.

Therefore, just as there can be no revolution without the liberation of women, the struggle for women's emancipation cannot succeed without the victory of the revolution.

It should be pointed out that the ideological and cultural precepts of the exploitative society which maintain the subjugation of women are destroyed by the advance of the ideological and cultural revolution which introduces into society new values, a new content to education and culture.

But apart from the antagonistic contradiction between women and the social order, other contradictions of a secondary nature also arise between women and men as a kind of reflex.

The marriage system, marital authority based solely on sex, the frequent brutality of the husband and his consistent refusal to treat his wife as an equal, are sources of friction and contradiction. If they are not correctly solved, these secondary contradictions may become more acute and produce such serious consequences as divorce.

But however serious they may be, these factors do not alter the nature of the contradiction.

It is important to stress this aspect, because we now see an ideological offensive taking place particularly in the capitalist world, in the guise of a women's liberation struggle. The aim is to transform the contradiction with men into an antagonistic one, thereby dividing exploited men and women to prevent them from fighting the exploitative society. In fact, leaving aside the demagoguery which hides its true nature, this ideological offensive is an offensive by capitalism to confuse women, to divert their attention from the real target.

We see small manifestations of this offensive appearing among us. Here and there we hear women grumbling about men, as if the cause of their exploitation lay in the difference between the sexes, as if men were sadistic monsters who derive pleasure from the oppression of women.

Men and women are products and victims of the exploitative society which has created and formed them. It is essentially against this society that men and women should fight united. Our practical experience has proved that the progress achieved in the liberation of women is the result of the successes gained in our common struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and to build a new society.

OUR MAIN LINES OF ACTION

The fight for women's emancipation demands, as a first step, the clarification of our ideas. Such clarification is all the more imperative in that there is a profusion of erroneous ideas about the emancipation of women.

There are those who see emancipation as mechanical equality between men and women. This vulgar concept is often seen among us. Here emancipation means that women and men do exactly the same tasks, mechanically dividing their household duties. 'If I wash the dishes today you must wash them tomorrow, whether or not you are busy or have the time.' If there are still no women truck drivers or tractor drivers in FRELIMO, we must have some right away regardless of the objective and subjective conditions. As we can see from the example of

capitalist countries, this mechanically conceived emancipation leads to complaints and attitudes which utterly distort the meaning of women's emancipation. An emancipated woman is one who drinks, smokes, wears trousers and mini-skirts, who indulges in sexual promiscuity, who refuses to have children, etc.,

Others associate emancipation with the accumulation of diplomas, and particularly university degrees, which are regarded as certificates of emancipation.

Yet others think that emancipation consists of achieving a certain economic, social and cultural level.

All these are erroneous and superficial concepts. Not one of them either gets to the heart of the contradiction or suggests a line that will really emancipate women.

Emancipation requires action on several essential levels.

First of all, a political line of action must be laid down. For women to emancipate themselves there must be conscious political commitment. What does this mean in practical terms?

It means, firstly, that the line must be laid down by a revolutionary political organisation which, defending the interests of the exploited masses as a whole, leads them in the fight against the old society. Only such an organisation is in a position to formulate a global strategy for the fight for liberation. In our case, what this means in concrete terms is that in order to liberate themselves, women must internalise FRELIMO's political line and live by it in a creative way. Otherwise they will throw themselves into sterile and secondary battles which will exhaust them uselessly and to no effect.

To internalise and live by our line requires involvement in the tasks laid down by the organisation. Just as a plant needs to strike roots in the ground in order to grow, so does the political line take root in revolutionary practice. Revolutionary practice destroys the exploitative society, unleashes the internal struggle, demolishes our erroneous ideas and releases our critical sense and creative initiatives.

In this context women must be mobilised for internal struggle and for mass struggle, and they must be organised. They will then be able to internalise the political line to start the offensive. They must be involved in the battle for the political education of the next generation and in the battle for the large-scale mobilisation and organisation of the masses. Their commitment to the liberation struggle will then become

concrete action, leading them to take part in making decisions affecting the country's future.

There also arises the need to engage in production.

Releasing the productive forces and launching the process of economic development will lead to deeper ideological understandings, and a sounder knowledge of reality of society and nature.

A third aspect is scientific and cultural education. A scientific and cultural grounding enables women to achieve a correct understanding of their relationship with nature and society, thus destroying the myths fostered by obscurantism which oppress them psychologically and deprive them of initiative.

In this way, women will gradually attain all levels of planning, decision-making and implementation in organising the affairs of children, hospitals, schools, factories, the armed forces, diplomacy, art, science, culture and so on.

It should also be emphasised here that all these needs do not apply solely to women, because men are also alienated, though in different ways.

The last aspect is that of the relationship between men and women, that is, the new revolutionary concept of the couple and the home. We can already see clearly what this relationship should not be. Until now it has been based on the alleged superiority of man over woman, aimed at satisfying the male ego.

We must state here — and this is something new in society — that the family relationship, the man-women relationship should be founded exclusively on love. We do not mean the banal, romantic concept of love which amounts to little more than emotional excitement and an idealised view of life.

For us, love can only exist between free and equal people who have the same ideals and commitment in serving the masses and the revolution. This is the basis upon which the moral and emotional affinity which constitutes love is built. We need to discover this new dimension, hitherto unknown in our country.

THE ORGANISATION OF WOMEN

Following the principle of mobilising, organising and uniting all our forces in the struggle, the Central Committee, satisfying the aspirations

of the increasingly conscious Mozambican women, has decided to establish the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM). The organisation of Mozambican Women is a body which will provide leadership and guidance for all Mozambican women in the struggle for the emancipation of women and for the revolution.

Apart from this, its central task is to mobilise international public opinion in favour of our struggle and to express the solidarity of the Mozambican women and people with the liberating and revolutionary struggle of the women and peoples of the whole world.

One battle the Organisation has to wage is that of keeping the true sense of emancipation permanently alive, reinforcing the ideological struggle against attempts to disparage the women's struggle and isolate it from the revolution. Firm adherence to the line, which must be understood, internalised and lived by in the details of everyday life, will give the Organisation and women themselves the sense of vigilance required to nip in the bud even the slightest reactionary ideological offensive.

We can be sure that the colonialist army, like other reactionary and conservative forces, will react against this Conference and its results and do their utmost to make our decisions remain a dead letter. Comrades of ours who still cling to erroneous concepts will find it difficult to understand the profound meaning of the women's struggle and they will put obstacles in its way.

But the greatest obstacle will be created by women themselves, by their habit of dependence, their passivity and the dead weight of tradition they carry over from the old society.

Women must unite. Unity is the main weapon of the struggle, its driving force. FRELIMO's political line is your platform for unity, while tribalism, regionalism and racism stand against it.

Tribalism and regionalism prevent one from realising the greatness of our country and of our struggle. They make it impossible to understand the complexity of our country and, above all, they disperse one's forces.

Racism is a reactionary attitude. The enemy has no colour. The function of racism in our case and in any struggle is to make it difficult to define the real target, creating confusion so as to divide the national revolutionary and progressive forces, weakening them and leading to their annihilation by the common enemy and exploiter. Our struggle would remain isolated from the world-wide struggle of the progressive

forces against the exploitation of man by man.

Seeds planted among us by the enemy cannot be destroyed by words or magic formulas. The ideological struggle must be started among all women to make them clearly understand the harm of these reactionary ideas. At the same time efforts must be made to explain to women that their experience of suffering, exploitation and oppression in Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Niassa, Inhambane, Tete and Maputo, in Zambezia, Manica e Sofala and Nampula, is the same. All bear the same scars, all have known the same hunger, the same poverty, the same suffering, the same shackles, the same widowhood, the same orphanhood, the same tears caused by colonialism and exploitation.

We are united through the discovery of common wounds and scars, but above all unity is realised through common effort, links are forged through collective work and study, through collective internal struggle, through criticism and self-criticism, and through action against colonialism.

We must also learn from the experience of our sisters throughout the world. That will help us to understand that there are no races or peoples who are exploiters or oppressors. There are no racist peoples, no colonialist peoples. By opening our minds to the experience of others we will not only learn useful lessons, but we will also understand that all countries, all peoples, all races, are waging the same struggle as we are: a struggle against the colonialists and imperialists who have no country, a struggle against the exploiters who have no race. In this way we will be able to see how the struggle of the Mozambican women and of our people is the struggle of all of humanity, and we will understand the warmth of the solidarity between us.

We must give up the pernicious habit of identifying only with those who come from the same village as ourselves, who speak the same language and have the same culture, traditions and educational background. Those with whom we must identify and see as our sisters, giving them our friendship and affection, our help and fraternal warmth, are all those who, like us, are exploited and oppressed, and who are with us in the great struggle for the liberation of women, the country and the working people.

These are all sacred tasks for the Organisation of Mozambican Women, because it is the women's responsibility to bring up the next generation free from tribalism, regionalism and racism, free from the

archaic attitude of oppressing women or passively accepting oppression, free from superstition and imbued with our class feeling and internationalism.

It is also necessary to fight against certain very negative subjective attitudes. Many women comrades think of their commitment as temporary, while they are single, and have a tendency to give up their revolutionary duties as soon as they are married. It is considered normal for wives to return to the village, and for being a wife to become a woman's sole duty. In many cases this is encouraged by the husband himself who still sees the woman as his private property, dependent on him, existing by virtue of him, and tied to him, almost like a piece of luggage, whom he can use as he pleases, who is obliged to go where he goes. This conflicts both with the requirements of the national liberation struggle and with the women's struggle for emancipation.

We must mobilise all women, so that they feel the need to participate in concrete tasks, to feel responsible, and to be actively engaged in the transformation of society. In this respect, married women especially must concern themselves with setting a positive example to the younger single women and show them in practice that marriage is an incentive for the pursuit of revolutionary tasks.

CONCLUSION

Our struggle is not an isolated struggle. The Mozambican Women's fight, the Mozambican people's fight, is an integral part of the worldwide front of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and for the construction of a new popular social order.

For this very reason we feel that the struggle of our sisters and brothers in Angola, who, under the leadership of the MPLA, have been fighting Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for twelve years is our own. We feel that the struggle of our sisters and brothers in Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, who, led by the PAIGC have been fighting Portuguese colonialism and imperialism since 1963, is our own struggle.

Hence we feel bereaved by the recent assassination of our comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC. This barbarous crime, like the assassination of our first President, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, is an attempt to stop the revolutionary advance of our

peoples. It failed in Mozambique and it will fail in Guinea Bissau.

The fight for the consolidation of independence and for revolutionary development in Tanzania and Zambia, Somalia, Congo, Guinea and the whole of Africa is our fight, the fight to consolidate our strategic rear.

The recent victory of the heroic peoples of Vietnam and Indochina, is a great incentive in our struggle. The women and men of Vietnam, of a small country, of an economically backward country, succeeded in defeating the largest and most cruel imperialist power in the world, the United States of America.

We feel encouraged by the successes achieved by our sisters and brothers in the socialist countries, who are building a new society of freedom and progress for women and men.

The women and men of Mozambique congratulate the Portuguese people for the intensification of the struggle against colonial war and fascism in Portugal. The opening of the fourth battle front against Portuguese colonialism in Portugal itself, consolidates the solidarity and friendship of our peoples.

We salute all peoples, we salute the women and men of all continents, who anonymously are like us, fighting to build a new society. To all of them we say that our people's struggle will be intensified, our revolution will be consolidated and triumphant, thus contributing towards the common victory.

Long Live the First Conference of Mozambican Women!

Long Live the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women!

Long Live the Mozambican Revolution!

Long Live the Struggle of the Mozambican people, united from the
Rovuma to the Maputo!

Long Live Africa!

Long Live the Organisation of Mozambican Women!

Long Live FRELIMO!

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

The full text of this speech, together with a number of other speeches and statements by Samora Machel, is obtainable in MOZAMBIQUE: SOWING THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION, published by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine in London in 1974.)

S.Africa joins Imperialist bloc in Indian Ocean offensive

by F. Meli

Protests have been expressed by governments as well as non-governmental organisations against the despatch of the U.S. naval task force consisting of the 84,000-ton aircraft carrier *Constellation*, three destroyers – *Camden*, *Ocharane* and *Berkeley* – and an escort ship *Stein*, into the Indian Ocean. However they appear to have made no impact on the U.S. government and military leadership.

The World Peace Council organised an International Conference Against Foreign Military Bases and for a Zone of Peace in the Indian Ocean from 14 to 17 November 1974 in New Delhi.*

This conference resolved to observe a Week of Action (February 16 to 23, 1975) against imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean. In its circular of January 6, 1975, the World Peace Council called upon its

*There have been a number of international conferences which discussed or touched upon this problem. We may mention the Bandung Conference of 1955; the Cairo Declaration of 1967; the Lusaka Statement of Non-Aligned States of 1970 elaborated at the Algiers Conference of 1973; the U.N. Declaration of December 16, 1971; the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U.; the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, 1973 and the above-mentioned conference. This article is partly based on the papers delivered and resolutions adopted at this conference.

National Committees and organisations to mobilise the widest sections of the population and to “further intensify the struggle against the imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean and to convert the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace”.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The emergence of the bourgeoisie from feudalism was a contradictory process; so was bourgeois political progress and scientific advancement. Whilst contributing to human wisdom and development by discovering the sea route to India, the emergent *capitalist order* brought with it untold misery and degradation to the African and Asian peoples. The Portuguese colonialists (Diaz, Da Gama etc.) were in this regard tools of history. The final dominance and supremacy of Britain in this area in the 18th century converted the Indian Ocean into a “British Lake”. The parasitic nature of colonialism and imperialism hindered and reversed the development of these people. It is therefore correct to conclude that there is a direct connection between colonialism and military bases in the Indian Ocean: continuity of the process of colonial and imperialist dominance in this region.

THE INDIAN OCEAN

The Indian Ocean, which is the third largest water-body on the earth's surface, is approximately equal in size to the continents of Asia and Africa put together. Cape Agulhas (20 E) divides it from the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the waters of this Ocean stretch to the shores of Western Australia, Malay Peninsula etc. where it meets the Pacific.

It differs from the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans in that it is almost landlocked, with northern boundaries being the landmass of Asia and western being Africa. The deep-sea plain of the Indian Ocean is rich in minerals and sea food. The Ocean as a whole is noted for its vast store of sea wealth in the form of oil deposits under the sea-bed, copper and nickel deposits. The Indian Ocean is an important scene of sea traffic and trade.

DIEGO GARCIA

The numerous islands in the Indian Ocean are of geo-strategic significance to imperialism. One of them is Diego Garcia. The coral atoll and horse-shoe shaped island which is 13 miles long and 4 miles wide, lies in the *centre of the Indian Ocean*. It forms part of the U.S. "communications network" from the American bases in Asmara (Ethiopia) to North Western Cape (Australia). According to Aswin K. Ray:

The last of its 350 inhabitants were hustled off by the British in 1971 and its population now consists entirely of those connected with the Anglo-American base.¹

Diego Garcia lies about 2,350 miles from Dar es Salaam. It is the largest island of the Chagos Archipelago. The Chagos Archipelago itself was detached from Mauritius. It forms together with Aldabra (near Tanzania), Farguhar, Desroches, that is, the islands which formed the Seychelles group of islands, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT).

In December, 1966 the U.S. and Britain reached an agreement that the islands of the BIOT will be available to both countries for military purposes for 50 years. The agreement provided among other things for the deepening and widening of the harbour to provide anchorage for a carrier task force, craft, tankers and strategic reconnaissance aircraft. It is said that:

dredging of the harbour to accommodate submarines and aircraft carriers is in progress, and the Pentagon proposes to lengthen the airport runway from 8,000 to 12,000 feet; to build more fuel-storage tanks; to expand the airfield's parking area; to improve the existing quarters for servicemen etc. The proposed 12,000 feet runway could be used by almost any type of aircraft in the world, including the long-range B-52 strategic bombers, which continuously carpet-bombed Vietnam for years.²

The U.S. has therefore become an "Indian Ocean Power" and Diego Garcia its multi-purpose base.

MILITARY BASES AND NEOCOLONIALISM

There are in the Indian Ocean region more than 50 littoral and hinterland states. Littoral states also include the Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar, Maldivé Islands, Mauritius, Seychelles, Reunion, Comoro Islands etc., while hinterland states are those countries like Zambia, Uganda, Afghanistan, Lesotho etc. which have their foreign trade

through the Indian Ocean. These states constitute one quarter of the membership of the U.N. and are inhabited by one third of humanity. The overwhelming majority of these states are "developing" countries, that is, countries which have newly "emerged" from colonial rule. Ethnic and cultural heterogeneity; miserably low living standards; educational backwardness and political instability characterise the social and political life in these countries. The technology is backward and productivity low. This makes these countries dependent on the industrially advanced West. The degree of dependence, which varies from close alliance to non-alliance with imperialism, determines their political behaviour.

This is not all. These countries are rich in mineral resources:

The countries bordering the Indian Ocean are reckoned to contain 90% of the world's rubber, tea, tin and jute plus substantial deposits of oil reserves, gold, silver, diamonds, uranium, copper, manganese, cobalt, tungsten, sulphur and coal.³

American investment in these countries — which are said to be also the rice bowl of the world — is estimated at 1,000 million dollars.⁴ The air-and-naval base on Diego Garcia is not only an instrument of *neocolonialism* to safeguard Anglo-American investment in this region, but also a means to blackmail the littoral states which assert their independence and sovereignty.⁵

D.K. Borooah, Indian Congress President, spoke for all littoral states when he stated that now there was a greater threat to India from the sea than from the mountains.⁶

THE ARAB GULF

The Arab (or Persian) Gulf, which has 60% of the world's oil reserves, is significant as a naval route for oil supplies and international trade. It is located at the crossroads between Far East, Middle East and Europe.

The democratic developments in the Arab Peninsula, especially after the 1971 developments in Iraq, have "necessitated" the American "presence" in the Indian Ocean so as to control the sea lanes. The American imperialists reacted to these events by reactivating CENTO:

The recent naval exercises after the ones by South Africa by CENTO show that these are interlinked. CENTO will protect the northern flank while South Africa will protect the southern flank of the oil lanes.⁷

Iran, too, which regards itself as an "oil power" feels threatened by the democratic developments in the Arab world. She is also involved in the support of apartheid South Africa.

Iran is not only not a party to the Arab boycott (of South Africa); she is also a partner in South Africa's refinery Natref at Sasolburg, and therefore unlikely to do anything to harm her own interests bound up in the South Africa oil industry.⁸

SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

South Africa, which has continued its pledge to defend "the free world from the communist threat", plays a vital role in the global strategy of imperialism to make the Indian Ocean area a region for imperialist dominance and control.

South Africa has a 1,900-mile coastline with harbours at Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Walvis Bay — a seaport in Namibia unlawfully attached to the Cape Province. Being the southernmost country on the continent, South Africa lies in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. The imperialists regard it as a "second Gibraltar" or "gatekeeper" to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. During the closure of the Suez Canal the volume of world shipping passing the Cape of Good Hope was estimated at 70 ships a day — that is 25,450 ships a year. Britain alone accounts for 20% of the traffic and the major commodity shipped along this route is oil: half a million tons every day and nearly a quarter of U.S. and all of South Africa's⁹. Producing about 77% of the gold in the West and with more gem diamonds than any country, South Africa is among the richest countries in the world in terms of minerals. She ensures investors high profits.

The military-industrial complex is an aspect and by-product of monopoly capital. Though the South African army has no deep-seated military traditions like Western Europe or the U.S., its involvement on the side of the west in the Korean and Algerian Wars and now in Rhodesia, has strengthened the reactionary tendencies and destroyed any vestige of progressiveness that might have existed within the army.

If the 50's saw no serious improvement of army equipment for a number of Centurion tanks bought in 1952 and two squadrons of Sabre aircraft in 1955,¹⁰ the 60's witnessed an unprecedented modern-

isation and expansion of the Defence Forces including far-reaching changes of an organisational, structural, administrative and functional nature. The military and police budget for 1974/75 is estimated at R890 million — an increase over last year's budget of almost R260 million.

The South African army which has been traditionally an all-white army has recently recruited also blacks* into its ranks and the economy became increasingly militarised: in 1965, 127 licences were acquired for local manufacture of foreign designed military equipment.¹¹ This is all part of the 10 year defence programme for "modernisation" and "standardisation" announced by the Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, in 1970.

The question may arise: why all this military build up? According to the defenders of apartheid it is because of the rise in prices of sophisticated armaments necessary for the defence of the country against the "potential threat" which is described as the "international communist conspiracy" against South Africa.

The truth of the matter is that South Africa, like Hitler Germany, is preparing for a "blitzkrieg." It is one of those strange paradoxes and perhaps even historical ironies that South Africa, which is not threatened by any country on her borders, has such a strong defence. What South Africa fears most is the liberation movement headed by the ANC. In fact the South African military strategists are "itching" for a "confrontation" with Black Africa.**

SIMONSTOWN

Formed in 1946 to augment the then existing Royal Navy in defence of

*It has been recently reported that a total of 224 Cape Corps soldiers — "the first Coloured national servicemen to be trained as anti-guerilla fighters" — ended a one year course at the regiment's training centre near Faure. Also a group of 48 Africans are now being trained at Baviaanspoort near Pretoria and another two intakes are expected in 1975. "Those Africans who join the South African army and attain rank will not be able to give orders to whites of lower rank" — after all they are not allowed to serve with whites in integrated units.¹²

**The recent call by Vorster for an "African detente" and "peaceful coexistence" in Southern Africa is nothing but demagoguery. According to a Zambian paper Vorster's "Voice of Reason" is a "white voice backed by white reason to prop up white rule . . . (it is) a ten million Kwacha overseas propaganda job to white-wash the ever more barbarous reality of racial oppression."¹³

the sea lanes, the South African Navy is now in the process of being expanded. 45 million dollars are being spent for the extension of the Simonstown Naval Base near Cape Town, so that 50 warships can berth at the same time.

The Simonstown Agreement – concluded in 1955 between South Africa and Britain – is South Africa's only known military agreement. The two countries agreed on cooperation in naval planning for the "protection of the Cape sea route"; British-built warships were bought by South Africa and political agreements were reached. France, which supplies the South African Navy with French submarines of the Daphne type (and also Mirage jet fighter bombers)¹⁴ is also involved. The U.S. too. A secret White House document spelling out the policy for Southern Africa approved by the President in February 1970 sets out clearly the guidelines of American policy which are summarised as follows:

Political stability and concurrent containment of communist influences in Africa's Southern cone; continued use of air and naval facilities in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies in support of United States naval presence in the Indian Ocean and other activities; easy access to South Africa's raw materials notably uranium; and concern with orderly trading with her gold.¹⁵

These and many other factors explain the reaction of Britain, France and the U.S.A. at the U.N. when the issue of South African expulsion from the U.N. reached the Security Council.

The Cape sea route is also of great strategic significance in any conventional war "east of Suez" because Simonstown is used not only for patrol and observation but also for intelligence:

The intelligence function of South African naval forces is borne out in recently published reports of completion of a 21 million dollar communications complex that has the capability of charting ship movements in an operational area ranging from the Antarctic to North Africa and from South America to Bangladesh. The sophisticated electronics gear at this installation in Silvermine, near Cape Town, can flash these ship plottings to war rooms in the U.S. and U.K. in seconds.¹⁶

CONCLUSION

The South African-Indian Ocean-Middle East Axis plays a vital part in the growing alliance between the Vorster regime and world imperialism, an alliance which, while strengthening the apartheid regime also enables the policies of that regime to influence imperialist aggressive designs in

this region. This dovetails with the *military theory and "defence" philosophy* of the South African militarists whose *function* (as we have shown above) is to prevent or suppress "internal disorder", that is, the liberation movement of South Africa; to strike at the source of the problem in Black states so as "to counter the menace" of warfare and to control the sea-lanes in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the interests of world imperialism.

There is a direct interconnection between the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and the anti-Soviet propaganda of a "Soviet threat" in the Indian Ocean. This anti-Communist propaganda also rears its ugly head in another version: "super-power rivalry" in the Indian Ocean, that is the "competition" between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union for dominance of the Indian Ocean. The thesis of "super-power rivalry" in the Indian Ocean is a reactionary justification and defence for imperialist designs in that part of the world whereby U.S. imperialism's guilt and crimes are removed and shifted on to the Soviet Union.

The progressive states in Africa together with the liberation movements, trade unions, youth and women's organisations bear a great responsibility and are called upon to play their role in the struggle for the *demilitarisation* of the Indian Ocean as an aspect of the general anti-imperialist struggle. This means the eradication of *all* foreign military bases on the continent and in the Indian Ocean because they are a threat to the sovereignty, security and independence of the African continent and serve as a support for the colonialist and racist regimes in Southern Africa. The eradication of military bases followed by radical changes of a *non-capitalist* character will serve as a step towards the demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean.

Even the demand for economic co-operation among the littoral states should be a step towards an *all-round* co-operation with the countries about to be independent in this area e.g. Mozambique, Angola, Comoro Islands, Seychelles Islands etc., and above all with socialist countries. This is important because some forces in this area tend to be possessive about "our Indian Ocean".

In Southern Africa there is a need to fight against such dangerous illusions that the fascist Vorster regime is becoming "reasonable" and this should be accompanied by more direct and all-round support for the liberation movements, which in any case are the apostles of peace in this region.

The African revolutionaries need to educate the African people on the dangers of these imperialist manoeuvres and, what is more, *concrete action* at grass-root level and on an international scale needs to be mounted. The devilish schemes of imperialism have to be frustrated and thwarted.

It is in this context that one may agree with Auguste Toussaint, the Mauritian specialist on the history of the Indian Ocean, when he says:

“The history of the Indian Ocean, in actual fact, is just beginning”.¹⁸

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Kenya faces crisis of Neo-Colonialism

by Muhoi wa Kirinyaga

Kenya, now in its twelfth year of independence, is caught in deepening social and political contradictions which seem likely before too long to produce a political crisis of proportions not seen since the upheavals of the violent struggle against imperialism of the 1950's, the so-called Mau Mau Emergency. The contradictions are also the contradictions of imperialism, and Kenya's importance as a crucial link in capitalism's hold on Africa demands that African revolutionaries are clear about their implications.

To some extent, it is possible to separate the strategic and economic interests of the international bourgeoisie in preserving the present political structures in Kenya. They are, of course, interlinked in the long run, but they have a somewhat different rationale in each case.

Strategically, Kenya is surrounded by states which, for varying reasons, are "unreliable" or worse from imperialism's point of view, while at the same time Kenya also has a role of growing importance in the whole Indian Ocean area.

Uganda's instability and economic downturn under Amin, together with the real blows which were dealt against imperialist economic links

which had been formed in colonial days (i.e. predominantly the Asian entrepreneurial class, and "old" British capital), have made it very difficult to maintain "normality" in the East African interior. Amin's foreign policy, too, carried a certain threat to established interests in the area. This has nothing to do with Amin's "anti-imperialist" tomfoolery, nor of course with his systematic murder of political and personal opponents. The difficulty with Uganda, from the viewpoint of the imperialist powers, is that the very narrowness and precariousness of the General's political support within the country, and the rapid decline of the Ugandan economy, make for unpredictability and strain in the Uganda regime's behaviour towards its neighbours.

Amin's relations with Tanzania are, of course, well enough known: but in this context it is more important that this hostility has put the East African Community under question, with potentially adverse effects on the flow of trade and profits within East Africa — a flow which mainly benefitted the imperialist firms located in Kenya. Again, Amin's somewhat vacillating attitude towards the political settlement by the Nimeiri regime with the southern Sudanese rebels is an element in the uncertainty. Nimeiri's failure to consolidate his rule, despite the vicious campaigns against Communists and other opponents and despite the economic, political and military support of reactionary Arab governments, remains a major concern for the western powers.

ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA

Again, the struggles of the most progressive sections of Ethiopian society have already dealt powerful blows against the alliance of feudalism and imperialism which Haile Selassie's regime represented — as well as severely damaging Israeli interests in north-eastern Africa. The future character of the Ethiopian government is not yet clear, and there are obviously still major questions to be resolved — about the problem of Eritrean autonomy, and about popular participation in the government, for example — but the tide in Ethiopia has turned decisively against imperialism's interests.

And Ethiopia's neighbour, Somalia, in its vital position upon the Horn of Africa, is consolidating the gains of the 1969 military-led revolution by strengthening its international ties with the socialist

countries, its continental standing through President Siad Barre's immediate past presidency of the OAU and support for the progressive regimes and for the liberation struggle, and its internal social advance by moving from the military Revolutionary Council towards the construction of a socialist party to lead the ideological and political struggle of the Somali masses.

To the south, there are distinct signs of a new reactionary offensive against Tanzania, in which — unsurprisingly — Kenya plays a key role. Without going into detail, it is clear that the social advances which have been made in Tanzania in recent years, (which have naturally brought severe problems of economic and political adjustment, now exacerbated by Tanzania's substantial foreign energy and food requirements) are being increasingly threatened. The World Bank is demanding the virtual dismantling of the socialist elements of the Tanzanian economy, and there are obviously internal forces which would stand to benefit substantially from such an outcome — and which have recently profited somewhat from Tanzania's difficulties. In this campaign, the Kenyan government has dropped the pretence of friendliness towards Tanzania, and given a licence to its tame Press to attack Tanzania in the most vicious terms.

The immediate issue, which led to the virtual closing of the border between the two countries in December, 1974, was the Kenyan bourgeoisie's rage at Tanzania's insistence that some of the large volume of goods moving from Kenya to Zambia by lorries owned by a consortium of Kenya government and local capitalists, be moved by rail, as Tanzania was deriving no benefit from the trade — on the contrary, her roads were deteriorating rapidly under the weight of the traffic. The Kenyans responded by closing the border under the pretext of "containing cholera", harassing Tanzanians working in Kenya (especially in Mombasa), and printing lurid tales alleging that Kenyans were being persecuted by Tanzania (all this, of course, in the "national" Kenyan newspapers, owned by Lonrho and the Aga Khan respectively!).

QUESTIONS OF STRATEGY

Of course, Kenya's role is not confined to purely African matters, as far as the imperialist powers are concerned: the strategic concern with East Africa and the Horn is intimately bound up with western interests in

the Indian Ocean area and especially with the control of the oil areas and oil transport routes. The newly expanded American presence in the area will be centred on the islands of Diego Garcia, Gam and Mezira, placing the Persian Gulf area under direct imperialist interdiction, while Kenya, in this context, plays a back-up role of satellite and radar communications base, naval station and military base area. It is interesting, in this regard, that the Shah's regime, with the fabulous wealth which it now possesses, is beginning to take a very active interest in Kenya as part of its plan for turning Iran into a major imperial power. So close is its interest that the managing director of the *Standard*, Nairobi, Udi Gecaga, (who is the son of the boss of British American Tobacco in Kenya, *and* is on the main board of directors of Lonrho, the imperialist conglomerate which is currently touting for Arab and other oil money for its exploitative activities in Africa, *and* who, for good measure, is married to President Kenyatta's daughter) was forced to issue a crawling apology to Iran after his newspaper had printed a mildly critical article which suggested that the Shah was not quite a kindly democrat, after all.

So Kenya represents, for the imperialist countries, a willing ally in containing the forces of change which are gathering strength in Africa. The Kenyatta regime offers not only concrete military and political assistance to imperialism, however; it is also justly famed as a place for international business to reap a large and unrestricted profit, and increasingly as a centre for "mini-industrialization" to penetrate the markets for manufactured goods in the countries of East and Central Africa. It is an important feature of the years of independence that, not only has the neo-colonial control of the most modern sectors of the economy remained firmly in foreign hands, but that government policy has been successful in attracting the new type of imperialist concern represented by multinational operations, to supplement, and begin to take the lead from, older colonial-type manufacturing firms such as Unilever and trading concerns such as Dalgetys.

With this inflow of new money, which helped to contribute, after 1965 or so, to Kenya's exceptionally high rates of new foreign investment, has come the pattern of deliberate and profitable *under-development* which is the accompaniment of this type of investment: a more refined system of rapid transfer abroad of capital through both legal profit repatriation and the various "tricks" of transfer

pricing, etc. etc. for which multinational companies are notorious. Coupled with the flight of capital overseas from the Asian bourgeoisie, as the Africanization of trade took effect, the outcome according to a recent study was a *net loss* (i.e. taking full account of the new money coming in) to the Kenyan economy of something like £80 million in the six years from independence to 1970. And of course the robbery continues today, if anything at an accelerated rate.

THE CONSEQUENCES

What has this meant for the development of Kenyan society, and in particular for the opportunities for the masses to improve their lives and take part in the struggle to transform their country? The usual answer, especially from Kenyans disgusted with the self-serving and supine corruption of their "leaders", is that the eleven years of independence have brought nothing but misery on the people, and enrichment for a tiny minority, while the democratic rights of the working population have been steadily eroded. Now that is clearly true, in its main outlines. But it is a formulation which does not really explain what the important changes in Kenyan society have been, and what direction the political struggles of the most advanced sections in Kenya will take over the years to come. And it does not, by the same token, lay bare the nature of the crisis which is developing.

The main historical movement of Kenyan society over the last decade has been the transition from a colonial to a neo-colonial economy. That is, the limitations and brakes on capitalist development which are characteristic of the late stages of colonialism have been progressively removed, and the conditions created for modern international capitalism to expand and deepen the capitalist mode of production in Kenya. The most immediate consequence has been the forceful entry into the Kenyan economy of Japanese, German, Scandinavian, Italian and, especially American capital, competing with and to some extent supplanting the British influence.

The expansion of these capitalists' operations, under the benign protection and very often with the direct participation (in "joint ventures", etc.) of the Kenyan State, has been accompanied, as is well known, by the removal of the racist anomaly whereby not only was much of Kenya's best land a settler preserve, but agricultural

production for the market was virtually prohibited to African peasants. As a result, there has taken place a very rapid expansion in peasant cash crop production — an expansion, however, which has now tailed off rather sharply, while the still very low incomes of the vast bulk of the peasantry remain totally inadequate for Kenya's fast-growing population.

The dual essence of the process of neo-colonialism, therefore, is sharply revealed. On the one hand, there is the expansion of a large capitalist manufacturing, commercial and financial sector based on highly advanced techniques of production, yielding a very large surplus for reinvestment and expatriation of capital while employing a relatively small and increasingly stabilized labour force; coupled with a large and economically very important petty-bourgeois sector based in peasant cash-crop production and urban small-scale trade and services. On the other hand, the intensification of this process over time produces very high levels of urban unemployment, increasing pressure on agricultural land and declining incomes for that bulk of the rural population which is unable to benefit from the cash economy, and an increasingly precarious subsistence also for those on the periphery of the intensive agricultural economy — some of the pastoral and semi-arid area peoples, for example.

It is a mistake to underestimate the significance of these changes. Nothing could be further from the truth than the "radical" slogan that "nothing has changed since independence": on the contrary, everything has changed. Colonialism, which had become a fetter holding back capitalist development, has been broken, allowing the intensified exploitation of Kenyan workers (by the expropriation of the value of their labour) and peasants (by the unequal exchange between capitalist commerce and industry and peasant agriculture, whereby the production of the peasants trades unfavourably with non-agricultural commodities). Every Kenyan man, woman and child is now much more enmeshed in the capitalist system, more exploited by productive or commercial relations, more closely involved, indeed, in the daily common struggles of all the peoples of the capitalist world.

THE POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS

The process of economic growth, the intensification of neo-colonial ties, and underdevelopment has concrete results, as implied above, for the

evolving class structure of Kenyan society, and it is in these developments that the growing contradictions of Kenyan society are to be discerned.

In the first place, there has developed in Kenya over the last decade a comprador class, an "auxiliary bourgeoisie",* which aids and services imperialism, acts as junior partner in exploitation and which, through its control over the State apparatus, provides the political guarantee of stability which the international bourgeoisie requires. Kenya's "success" as a dependent peripheral capitalist country, in other words, has also involved the creation of a relatively more developed indigenous capitalist class than in most other African countries.

The political and economic underpinnings of this class and its political representatives are based in the State, although the way they operate is quite complex. Firstly, control over the State has meant that the Kenyan ruling class has been able to cater, to some extent, to the very powerful political demands of the petty bourgeois strata on which its power rests. The educated strata have received State employment, or employment in business through government pressure on expatriate firms to increase their intake of Kenyans. Traders and other would-be petty capitalists have benefitted from the operation of Africanization policies which have squeezed Asian businessmen out of one type of activity after another, and from the extension of State credit and loans for business expansion, and State agencies in some essential commodities. In the countryside, the rich peasants have gained access to new crops, together with marketing and technical services and credit, through government agencies, while their government-sponsored and controlled co-operatives provide a further source of advantage at the expense of poorer peasants.

This political coalition has enabled an extraordinary process of enrichment to take place, with those elements of the indigenous capitalists most closely tied to imperialism — i.e. those with the most powerful political leverage to prise a "piece of the action" out of the multinationals, or those who have flourished by providing ancillary services and local contacts for these firms — with these elements doing much

*This is the term used in an excellent recent study, Colin Leys, *UNDER-DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA*, Heinemann Educational Books, London.

better than the sections of the bourgeoisie which operate in more "traditional" sectors such as large-scale capitalist agriculture. Indeed, for this and other reasons, the African capitalist agricultural sector in Kenya is in great difficulty, and is extremely indebted and vulnerable to expropriation. Even so, however — and this is the essential contradiction of capitalist development in Kenya — the constraints of neocolonialism prevent the African capitalist class from grasping control of the levers of accumulation, and condemn it to its subordinate, auxiliary status in the imperialist exploitation of the Kenyan people.

PREVENTING SOCIAL CHANGE

The essence of the neocolonial structure is in fact constraint: to preserve the mechanisms of exploitation intact, it is essential that certain inequalities be maintained, certain social changes be prevented. And it is just this control which, depending as it has on the acquiescence of all classes, is becoming more difficult to exercise in Kenya. So the Kenya bourgeoisie, rapacious though it is, must ultimately recognize that its capacity to compete with or supplant the international owners of capital and technology is nil; and that, indeed, even to maintain its own profitable but subordinate position, it must maintain a complex structure of political and economic control over the rest of society.

We have already discussed the way in which the petty bourgeois and salaried categories are maintained in a condition of dependence on the State, while at the same time this class constitutes the essential power base, in both rural and urban areas, of Kenyan capitalism. The intense scramble for wealth among individuals continues, of course — indeed, the notorious "tribal" competition of Kenyan politics is little more than the formation of fractions and alliances for this purpose on a broadly ethnic basis, and the attempt to rally mass political support behind such bids. But, scramble though they might, the Kenyan State cannot allow a few urban traders, for example, to become so dominant as to shut off opportunities for all the other claimants (many of them politically influential) clamouring for a place: so in practice, as Leys shows, it assists many of them to be small traders rather than a few to become capitalists.

Again, in the peasant areas, while there is no doubt that capitalist relations of production exist and are spreading, the State cannot allow the political upheaval of large-scale landlessness which would follow from the rapid accumulation of land by the biggest peasants, and a large extension of wage labour in the rural areas. So rich peasants are "locked in" to a structure of marketing boards, co-operatives, government supervision, etc., which effectively delimits this kind of capitalist development, while the State keeps a close eye on land relations to prevent too many evictions. Once again, the limits of indigenous capital "development", while further advanced than in many African countries, are still closely circumscribed.

For the workers and the poor peasants of Kenya, of course, there is very little in the way of the "compensations", material and political, which imperialism provides for its allies. On the contrary: it is precisely because the limited advances which the dominated classes of Kenya achieved in the period around independence have by now been so eroded, that the political contradictions have so intensified. The land reforms and agricultural changes which gave poor peasants some security of tenure and some increases in income have been rapidly undermined by inflation, by the increasing dominance in rural areas of rich peasants, and by the steadily increasing pressure on agricultural land. For the working class, the prevalence of large-scale, long-term unemployment, and low wages even for those in jobs, has resulted in a substantial deterioration of its position at the same time as the employers have been maintaining and increasing their profit rates and expansion programmes.

THE REGIME'S RESPONSE

It is clear that this state of affairs is in fact extremely vulnerable to upheavals, particularly as the economy is adversely affected by energy costs and general inflation. This deterioration in the economy, of course, affects all Kenyans, (although not equally), and is clearly contributing towards the political difficulties of the regime and the prospect of substantial social unrest which the authorities are anticipating. The range of means available for imperialism and its Kenyan allies to cope

with challenges, whatever their nature will be, has significantly narrowed as the regime becomes more discredited and the problems more intractable — so much so that it now seems likely that the next major challenge to the State will be met with fierce and naked repression.

The attempts of the Kenyatta regime to cope with popular discontent and potential political opposition have in fact always relied on a combination of accommodation and repression. Thus the opportunities and resources offered to middle class urban dwellers and wealthy and socially predominant peasants helped, in the past, to consolidate the political bases not only of the KANU regime in general, but also of particular prominent politicians in leading government positions. Many of these people have suffered a political eclipse since the one-party “national elections” held last year, largely because their leading clients felt themselves neglected by their ruthlessly self-seeking “leaders”; and these powerful local personalities were able to harness the popular discontent to throw out a large number of sitting Members of Parliament, including half-a-dozen leading figures in the Government.

There is no question of the elections having radically changed the character of the Kenyan regime — on the contrary, the new entrants to Parliament, it is safe to say, were essentially of the same kind as the old incumbents, even though they were not so hopelessly corrupted and compromised, and even though they tried to voice the populist sentiments their constituents wished to hear. But even this mild criticism, apparent at the opening session of the new House of Assembly in October 1974, proved too much for Kenyatta, who promptly adjourned the Assembly and bided his time before allowing it to meet again. It is also significant, in this connection, that Oginga Odinga, the former leader of the now proscribed Kenya People's Union, was prohibited from entering the election, for fear of his becoming a rallying point for the disaffected.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

If the political changes at the elections signify a heightened discontent among those who have been closest to the KANU regime in political outlook, there is little more joy for Kenyatta and those he represents

on other social fronts. Despite the repressions of the 1960's in which trade union leaders who maintained the defence of workers' interests against imperialist and local employers were victimized and detained without trial, the trade union movement continues to be a thorn in the government's side. There have been many attempts to resolve the rank and file militancy which is unquestionably developing, by locking the Central Organization of Trade Unions closer into the State apparatus, and by threatening dismissals and worse against all workers who go beyond the recommendations of tame stooges. Even so, the leadership upheavals within COTU continue, especially unwelcome for the regime in a period in which they expect renewed working class campaigns against the privations which general economic conditions are already producing. If to this picture is added the element of increased economic difficulties in the countryside, so that workers are less able to depend on help from their rural bases, the anger of the cities carried a potent threat of politicization.

Even with Kenya's until now very status-oriented and obedient students, the government was forced to resort to extremely harsh threats, expulsions, and quiet detentions of student leaders to force the students back into Nairobi University and Kenyatta University College in January this year, after months of closure of both institutions.

This is not to suggest that some kind of revolutionary situation is developing: far from it. Indeed, the crucial element to transform Kenya from an imperialist neo-colony is, until now, largely missing — that is, mass political organization of the oppressed classes and their potential allies. But the combination of economic recession and the crumbling of the political coalition based on imperialism and its allies is producing the elements of political crisis, in which a radical change in political arrangements seems likely.

The occasion for such a rearrangement, as is constantly reiterated, may well be the demise of Kenyatta himself. For it is now clear that the Kenyan ruling class has not yet been able to agree on a succession candidate. While Moi, the Vice-President, has gathered to himself an array of powerful patrons, including some shadowy foreign backers, there is no absence of other contenders. Some of these have, like Mungai, the former Foreign Minister, been politically disgraced; but it is certain that the lack of any one individual's overwhelming pre-eminence will work against an orderly transition — particularly as

Kenyatta's exit may well provide the opportunity for some of the latent class and other antagonisms to emerge more forcefully.

MEANS OF REPRESSION

It is at this point that the control and deployment of the major means of repression become crucial. The Army, for reasons of its tribal composition, is not entirely a reliable weapon, at least if the pattern of Kikuyu predominance within the ruling group is to be maintained. Nevertheless, its officer corps has been assiduously trained by the imperialist powers (particularly the British, who had the Army Chief on a "training course" in Britain in 1973). But on the whole it seems more likely that, if military intervention occurs, it will be by the paramilitary arm of the police, the General Service Unit, a bunch of well-armed and trained thugs who have been continuously deployed in duties related to "civil order" in recent years — i.e. they are used for all types of repression on a mass scale, from action against cattle-rustling communities to "softening up" university students to beating up inhabitants of Odinga's home area. If there were any point in predicting the next (or next-but-one) leader of Kenya, it would be a fair guess that the triumvirate of Vice-President Moi, Army Chief Matu and Police Chief Hinga will figure prominently.

The importance of this process, however, does not lie in who emerges as the next agent-general of imperialism in Kenya, but in the political direction indicated by changes in the balance of class forces in the country. If it is correct that the political arrangements whereby the international bourgeoisie has been able to operate so successfully are collapsing, the likely outcome in the near future, it has been suggested, is the emergence of a regime of harsher and more open repression, which will only be able to retrieve the problems of capitalism by a direct assault on the masses and especially on the working class. A crucial element in this developing crisis is the extent to which Kenyan workers are able to overcome the political isolation and dependence which the regime enforces on them and strike independent bonds with the mass of the people, especially with the poor peasantry and the dissatisfied elements of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. Kenya may not have

reached a stage in which the working class is capable of forming its own party and taking the decisive lead in political struggle, but it is certain to be at the centre of the most acute political struggles in Kenya within the next few years: and in the absence of a determined political response from the working class, as well as from the broad mass of the population, the outcome of such a crisis will be grim indeed.

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Walter Sisulu – Man of the People

by J. Girodot

South Africa knows many living heroes, though the best known are locked away on Robben Island from the life of their people. The story of each is a distinct chapter of struggle, but they would be the first to insist that their strength and their achievements and their sacrifice were not as individuals, but as members of a dedicated political team that succeeded in the fifties and the early sixties in leading the mass struggle to unprecedented, and as yet unequalled heights.

Whatever their generation or field of experience, there is no prisoner in South African cells and no militant of the struggle anywhere who would not recognise the incomparable achievements of Walter Sisulu. For throughout the years of the great mass political drive of the African National Congress, it was Walter Sisulu who held united and co-ordinated the work of the African National Congress. He was, from 1949, the secretary-general of the organisation, and he was its organisational focus from then until the ANC became illegal in 1960, and during the difficult transition period when it prepared its early years of underground activity.



Walter Sisulu was not a man for the public occasion, though he could rise to any. He was the man who made the public occasions possible, who behind the scenes had carried the burden of the organisation's work. If it was his earnest attention to detail, his patient persistence which carried the Congress and its campaigns through the country, Walter Sisulu had other, rarer qualities too. He had the capacity to concentrate on the principal issues; by his own example of seriousness and dedication he had the ability to persuade those with doubts and those with differences that these should at no cost be allowed to prevail over the central objectives of the struggle. Walter Sisulu did not command; he persuaded. His personal behaviour, free of malice and self-seeking, reinforced his political clarity. He was a revolutionary because he understood fearlessly the failure of the society in which he lived to produce any alternative life for his people. He was also a revolutionary because he valued and loved people; he despaired of any change except by the masses, and he lived in the hope and confidence that they would rise to the challenge. As he undoubtedly still does.

THE EARLY YEARS

Walter Sisulu was born in the district of Engcobo in the Transkei in 1912. He was strictly brought up by his uncle, a respected village headman. He came from a poor family and his formal schooling ended at the age of fifteen in standard four. Upon the death of his uncle he had to leave school and take on the responsibility of coping with the stock and the crop. Soon he was one of the Transkeians who found themselves contracted to a Johannesburg mine, working a mile underground at the rockface, and each night sleeping on wooden boards, alongside the other miners in the grim barracks of one of the Reef compounds.

His next job was in East London, as 'kitchen boy'. Then back to Johannesburg to work in a bakery for 18 shillings a week, when he learnt — and taught — his first political lesson. Having picked up some information about trade unions, he led the workers on strike for higher wages; whereupon the boss saw each man separately, persuaded him to resume work at the same wage, and sacked Sisulu.

As he went through a succession of factory jobs, Sisulu clashed repeatedly with white bosses, and his relief became a delving back into

Xhosa history, and writing articles about national heroes for the African press.

The clashes came not merely from personal revolt: one evening in the train going home to the township where he lived he saw a white ticket-collector, for no apparent reason, confiscating an African child's season ticket. He at once asked the collector why he had done this. Instead of replying the man hit him. He fought back, was overpowered, arrested and imprisoned. It was his first prison experience.

As he went from job to job he studied for his Junior Certificate by correspondence and became one of the first Africans to enter the Technical College when it was opened to non-Whites. His mother had joined him and they lived in one of the small brick box houses in Orlando. His search for political expression was taking more definite form, and it was with the ANC's revival in 1937 that he felt he had found what he wanted.

By 1940 he had joined the Congress Youth League. The following year Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela joined him, and an unbreakable compact of commitment was made by three young men who were to transform the resistance struggle of their people, first in the Youth League and then in the Congress proper.

ANGRY YOUNG MEN

The end of the war was a time of powerful stirrings among the African youth, seething with anger with the repressive structures of the South African state and impatient of the hesitant, compromising liberalism of the ANC's old leadership. Walter and his colleagues, sensitive to their generation and to the needs of the times, came to politics militantly nationalistic, impatient of conferences and resolutions, demanding not a talking-shop organisation but mobilisation of the masses.

It was in Sisulu's office that he, Mandela, Lembede, Ngubane and others met to lay plans to commit Congress to a policy of direct action. Night after night the young men met, and young women too; one of them, Albertina, married Walter Sisulu during 1944.

Their outlook and their drive swept through the ANC like a hurricane; the old leadership tumbled, and yesterday's Youth League leaders rose to take charge of the ANC. From that date can be reckoned the revival

of the ANC and the rebirth of mass political militancy in the country.

In 1949 Walter Sisulu decided he would give up his living as an estate agent; there could be only one task before him. His wife Albertina agreed. They would henceforth depend on her wages as a nurse, for though Congress offered him £5 a month, it was soon in arrears. Walter Sisulu was the first full-time secretary-general.

When Walter Sisulu first took on the complex job of secretary-general of the ANC, he brought natural gifts, a deep political seriousness from a life of struggle as a youth, an unconcern with the usual status symbols of educational and social success — for he had none and had learned that other qualities were more important — and a steel nerve for crisis situations.

As the ANC grew in the post war years, Walter grew too. His political experience in combat told him that simple nationalist slogans were inadequate; that behind the great repressive state in South Africa was a ruling class based on complex forms of class and colour exploitation, each supplementing the other to oppress the African as a worker or peasant and as a national; that this was no thin layer of colonial administrators who might withdraw once they had groomed substitutes to fill their places; that this was a system of exploitation with manifold economic, political and ideological forms and supports, and that the strategy of struggle of the African people had to be based on longterm perspectives, a firm analysis of the nature of the oppressive structure and, an alertness to the need for a great range of tactical measures in the task of building a strong and united resistance which would take advantage of contradictions within the system. Walter Sisulu began to study and to write, to plan mass campaigns.

In the swing of the ANC membership towards the new phases of struggle demanded by the sixties, Walter's influence was profound. And the government victimised him severely for it. He was sentenced for his part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. His life in the later years of the 50's and in the 60's was an incessant round of arrests, imprisonments, trials. Nothing daunted his spirit, not even the final blow of house-arrest, imposed on him in 1962, from which — characteristically — he escaped to work underground, in disguise, at the headquarters of the then illegal ANC in Johannesburg. In 1963, in a raid on a house at Rivonia, he was arrested, and stood trial with the Rivonia ten — including Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg and others — charged

with planning the armed overthrow of the Government. Mandela made a fluent, uninterrupted speech from the dock. But characteristically Sisulu went into the witness stand to testify, entering a spirited, unshakeable defence of the ANC, its policies and its aims, through several weeks of gruelling cross-examination.

It should have been an unequal contest. On the one side, one of the most highly qualified prosecutors in the country, with a string of University degrees; on the other, the self-made revolutionary, self educated. From it Walter emerged with triumph, as he has emerged from every struggle which his life has plunged him into — enlarged, a man of outstanding stature, larger in every dimension than those who had outlawed and prosecuted him, — a revolutionary leader and still a common man's man.

In 1964, he and the others were sentenced to life imprisonment. He has been doing hard labour on Robben Island ever since.

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Indians must Boycott Dummy Councils

Goolam Singh

The political struggle against all the institutions of oppression and exploitation in an anti-democratic society is of decisive importance to any revolutionary movement. In South Africa such a struggle, properly conducted, lies at the heart of the strategic task of mass political mobilisation as the basis upon which a victorious anti-racist state of national democracy will be established. In particular is this true of those institutions created by the white minority racist regime to absorb the revolutionary energy of the millions of unredeemed black people and deflect it from its real revolutionary content — the overthrow of the white supremacist rule — and the real enemy — South African Imperialism with the Vorster government as its instrument.

The Bantustan "Parliaments", the Coloured Peoples' Representative Council (CPRC) and the South African Indian Council are precisely such institutions. When the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948 under Dr. Malan, two over-riding considerations went into the shaping of policy:

Firstly, the Party had to be seen and accepted as an expression of

unadulterated Afrikaner Nationalist aspirations by the 1,750,000 Afrikaners who formed the social base of the Party and from whom it drew its support.

Secondly, it had to serve as the instrument of the ascendant Afrikaner capitalist class in particular and of South African imperialism in general.

In the policy of apartheid that was evolved by the Nationalist Party to give concrete expression to these essentially contradictory objectives, we find in a clear and undisguised form the dialectical relationship between politics and economics. The political power which the party won was not an end in itself: political domination (always the main feature of white rule in South Africa) over the black peoples emerged as a necessary instrument in the realisation of the economic interests of the South African ruling class, described in the 1962 Programme of the South African Communist Party as:

... an alliance of local white monopoly interests in mining, industry and agriculture, together with foreign imperialists and representatives of state monopoly capitalism.

Given the concrete historical situation in which the Nationalist Party came into power, political policies had in addition to give due consideration to a number of issues which stood in direct contradiction to the defined objectives of the party. Essentially, these issues crystallised around the question of land, particularly for the African majority, and political rights for the majority black population. The issues were mutually inclusive. Failure to deal with either compounded the crisis in both.

THE LAND WAS STOLEN

The 1913 Land Act effectively shattered any prospects of land acquisition by the African people in 87% of the total land area of South Africa, reserved thenceforth for white occupation. Since the remaining 13% of the land which constituted the Reserves — today's Bantustans — were neither designed nor intended to provide the means of subsistence for the African people throughout the country, the result was the creation of large, readily available reservoirs of labour for the metropolitan white-owned industries beginning to flourish with the discovery of diamonds and gold. The migrant labour force to which the Act gave rise, moreover, was both mobile, readily available and above all *cheap*,

firstly because the necessity for providing social security to the migrant's family was obviated by the fact that his family was not allowed to accompany him to his work-place during his contract, and secondly, because the Reserve economy served as a basis, albeit extremely limited, for supplementing the wages of the migrant.

By 1948, however, the process of ever-deteriorating returns from the Reserve economy was already far advanced. Poor soil, the ravages of soil erosion, an increasing population and hence increasing population density coupled with pre-capitalist modes of production, accelerated the tendency, strengthened by the needs of an expanding modern economy, away from the Reserves into the urban areas. This in fact was the conclusion of the 1948 Native Laws Commission. Political control in the Reserves through the strengthening of the political authorities of the Chiefs (Bantu Authorities Act of 1951) could not meet the requirements of political control in the urban areas with an ever-growing working class which to a large degree was totally removed from the Reserves and permanently urbanised.

It was precisely this class which formed the immediate and most dynamic social basis for political rights and in the long term — national liberation.

Organised and mobilised by the national organisation of the African peoples the African National Congress — to give political expression to their national aspirations; by working class organisations — the Communist Party of South Africa and the trade unions (later united under the South African Congress of Trade Unions) — to give expression to its class aspirations, the urban African population posed for Nationalist Party policy the immediate and long term problems of containing industrial action with its acute pressure on the super-profitability of capital and of political control with its fundamental threat to white supremacist rule.

Economic and political assaults against the structures of white supremacy had already surfaced with shattering force by 1948. The African mineworkers' strike of 1946, led by the African Mineworkers' Union, shook the foundations of capital in South Africa. Politically events were moving rapidly towards confrontation. 1946 had also witnessed the massed-based, successful campaign launched by the South African Indian Congress against the Pegging Act (designed to further restrict the land rights of the Indian people). In the spirit and tradition of their earlier resistance to unjust laws, thousands of Indians came

out in defiance. Neither the imprisonment of thousands nor police harassment and the threat of repatriation to India deterred the resisters. The Act was never implemented. But more important was the platform on which the new leadership of Congress (Dr. Y.M. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr. G.M. Naicker in Natal) campaigned and won the support of the Indian people – that South Africa was their country; that they were an integral part of the oppressed masses; that freedom was indivisible and could only be won in a South Africa in which all people, in particular the African majority, were free. The new dynamism of perspective and action within the ranks of the South African Congress was matched by an equally strong desire by the African National Congress, revitalised and agitated by its militant Youth League, to shift the freedom struggle *against* the white supremacy state which was seen to be both the source and instrument of national oppression and exploitation, *and* based on the militant strategy of mass-based action. The unity of purpose and action by these two organisations became cemented in the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact.

The first of many joint actions against the fascist white minority regime began with the General Strike of May, 1950 followed by the National Strike of June 26, 1950 and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in 1952-53. The unity of all the oppressed anti-racist and democratic forces in South Africa was further extended and consolidated by the formation of the political organisations of the African people (the African National Congress), the Indian people (South African Indian Congress), the Coloured people (Coloured People's Congress), progressive white people (Congress of Democrats) and the non-racial workers' organisation (South African Congress of Trade Unions).

Rooted as it was in the most far-reaching programmatic demands contained in the Freedom Charter, the Alliance throughout the decade of the fifties successfully mobilised and led into action the masses of oppressed peoples in campaign after campaign.

In the countryside massive resistance which flared up into open rebellion amongst the peasant masses in the Reserves from 1956 to 1960 further heightened the crisis of apartheid. Beginning in Sekhukuni-land and Zeerust the peasant revolt against the imposition of the Tribal Authorities Act, the despotism of the chieftaincy system which the Act encouraged, spread to Natal and culminated in the magnificent defiance in Pondoland.

The racist regime's response was an ever-escalating spiral of repression culminating in the Sharpeville Massacre of March 1960, the banning of the African National Congress and the leaders and activists of the Alliance. Mass action based on legal opposition on its own was rendered ineffective and culminated in the decision to extend the scope of the political struggle to embrace armed struggle.

It was within this historical context that Nationalist Party policy evolved and found expression in the Bantustan Programme for the African people and the creation of the Coloured People's Representative Council and the South African Indian Council for the Coloured and Indian national minorities. Whilst the solutions for the national groups constituting the oppressed majority differ in form, the main content of Nationalist policy (whether expressed as apartheid, Separate Development or as is currently fashionable, multi-nationalism) is aimed at political control and supply of a cheap labour force.

For the African people, in particular, constituting 70.6% of the total population and providing more than 75% of the total labour force, the policy is crucial.

NO HOMELANDS

Let us now examine the Nationalist "solution" in its application to the Indian people.

For both Coloured and Indian communities, constituting 12.2% of the total population, no separate "homelands" are envisaged. Residential segregation within "white South Africa" is the cornerstone of policy. To this end the Group Areas Act was passed in 1950 and by December 1972 approximately 27,694 Indian and 44,885 Coloured *families* had been forcibly uprooted from areas of residence to racially exclusive ghettos. The number of *families* still to be removed are respectively 10,461 Indian and 27,448 Coloured. It is estimated that when the Act has been fully implemented less than 6,000 Indians of the current population of 668,000 will remain residentially unaffected!

The overall consequence of the Act, like the operation of the Bantustan policy, has led directly to an acute intensification of oppression of the Indian and Coloured people.

For the Indian people the Act, apart from the tremendous number

of unsolved social problems it has created, has had the effect of:

Firstly, accelerating the process, inevitable in capitalist society in the stage of monopoly capitalism, of substantially reducing and economically ruining large numbers of the small trading and commercial class within the community by cutting it off from the larger market.

Secondly, reducing the number of Indians owning the property they occupied from one-third in 1936 to an estimated 10% by 1980 (figures according to Mr. L.E.D. Winchester, United Party M.P. during Parliamentary Debates 13/5/1971). Thirdly, increasing the numbers of Indian women in the labour force from 7.3% in 1951 to 11.6% by 1970 (figures from Professor J.L. Sadié, professor of Economics at Potchefstroom University).

And fourthly, by the operation of an educational system designed to ensure a high drop-out rate amongst students, increasing the numbers of the 15-18 age-group in the labour market.

In general therefore the operation of capitalist development in South Africa, coupled with the specific operations of the racist policy of the Nationalist Party is having the effect of turning larger and larger sections of the Indian people into wage-labourers; a development, no doubt, which has immediate and far-reaching consequences for the liberation struggle. Political control of the Indian people is attempted through the creation and operation of the South African Indian Council.

In the white elections of 1948 the Nationalist Party came into power on a manifesto which, in regard to the Indian people, stated:

The party holds the view that the Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is unassimilable. They can become part of the country and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community

Two factors mitigated against the policy of repatriation and led to its reversal in 1960.

1. The demands of an ever-expanding economy which by 1960 employed some 101,900 Indians, mainly in the secondary and tertiary industries and by the end of 1971 had grown to 197,000.

2. The century-long political struggle by the Indian people for equality and justice under the leadership of the South African Indian Congress; a struggle which, as we have seen above, had intensified in the post-second World War period and broadened its perspective to total national liberation of all oppressed peoples.

The reversal of policy was an acknowledgment of defeat by the Nationalist Party. Despite all the restrictions, the massive repression of

a police state, economic deprivation, the Indian people could not be hounded from the land of their birth.

The recognition of the Indian community as "permanent inhabitants" (not citizens) in 1960 was followed with the announcement of the intention to create an Indian Council as an answer to the "political aspirations of the Indian community."

Accordingly, legislation introduced in 1962 provided for a government-appointed Council of 25 and the establishment of Local Advisory Committees in established Group Areas, initially to be wholly appointed by the respective Provincial Administrators and to include some elected members later. In all Provinces except Natal these local committees were called Management Committees.

According to information by the Minister of Indian Affairs during the Assembly debates on March 1, 1973 the following local government bodies were already in existence:

2 fully elected Town Boards in Verulam and Isipingo in Natal.

18 Local Advisory Committees (LAC's) in Natal all partly elected and partly nominated.

5 Management Committees – 1 in the Cape and 4 in the Transvaal with only the Lenasia Committee fully elected.

15 Consultative Committees – (committees which could develop into Management Committees) – 3 in the Cape Province and 12 in Transvaal.

The functions of the local government committees and the national body – the South African Indian Council – were respectively to consult with and advise the white Councils and the South African government on the implementation of government policy in regard to the Indian people on matters concerning education, health services, employment opportunities and industrial and financial development, old-age pensions and the development of local administrative bodies all within established Group Areas for Indians.

NO CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

On the question of full citizenship the then Minister of Indian Affairs, Senator Trollip, declared in 1968:

... there is not the slightest possibility ... now or in the future of Indians getting representation in our Central Parliament ... (Senate Debates March 11, 1968).

The creation of the Indian Council, as with the Coloured Council and Bantustan "parliaments", met with a massive and decisive rejection, particularly at a time when militant political action, nation-wide among the black masses found increasing expression in the armed struggle which commenced on December 16, 1961. Amongst the Indians none could be found to collaborate with the government, so much so, that the then Minister, Mr. W.A. Maree, stated:

If the required co-operation is still withheld it will not mean that I shall refrain from going ahead with the task entrusted to me. But I shall do so as I see fit and nobody will be entitled to accuse me of taking matters into my own hands ...

The "required co-operation" amongst collaborationist elements within the Indian Community was only forthcoming when by 1965 the South African Indian Congress had been all but rendered ineffective by arbitrary arrests and detentions under the fascist 90-day and 180-day no-trial laws, imprisonment, torture, murder, bannings and house arrests of all suspected activists and leaders — a fate suffered by the entire liberation movement.

At a time when mass revolutionary action was developing with great speed and when the Indian people were in no mood for compromise, the boycott tactic advanced at that time was correct. It succeeded, even if only temporarily, in preventing the racist regime from convening a reactionary institution with the consent of the people!

Is the boycott tactic a correct one in the present situation? There can be no doubt that as far as the Indian Council is concerned this remains both necessary and correct.

"Searchlight" the underground leaflet circulated mainly amongst the Indian people, has repeatedly called on the Indian people to expose and boycott the Council. The May, 1974 issue, for example declares:

... Its (the Council's) composition is of persons who have made little or no contribution in the cause of our people in their struggle for full freedom ... By the very nature of its composition the Indian Council can never be expected to act in support of our working people for this apartheid institution is clearly part of the exploiting class ...

The resuscitated Natal Indian Congress has consistently rejected the Institution as irrelevant to the aspirations of the Indian people, especially in relation to the national demand by all the oppressed peoples for a non-racial state of national democracy. The Congress boycotted part-

icipation in the "elections" for 15 members to the enlarged 30-man Council.

There can be no doubt that the boycott tactic is both necessary and valid in regard to this, the most bogus of all apartheid-created institutions. The election of Council members to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council took place as a result, at least, of "elections" in which the various parties could go directly to the Coloured electorate *as a whole* and canvass support for policies.

The Coloured Labour Party (CLP) fought the election on the basis of a complete rejection of the Council and for complete and equal rights for all the black people, not only the Coloured people. It utilised the limited legal possibilities offered by the "elections" and the operation of the Council to conduct a broad political campaign. It could expose the irrelevancy and fraudulence of the Council directly to the Coloured people.

Indian Council "elections" (for 15 persons, with another 15 appointed by the government), however, were to be conducted through "electoral colleges" consisting of some 400 persons (according to the Minister of Indian Affairs — Rand Daily Mail, September 27, 1973), all of whom were serving in local committees. It was according to this system that the "elections" to the Indian Council took place in November, 1974.

The masses of the Indian people were completely ignored. No doubt fear of a repeat of the CLP-type victory in the case of full, popular participation by the Indian people must have been central to the thinking of the government. Indeed, where the "elections" to government-created institutions were on the basis of popular votes, the results have been devastating to government policy, as in the case of the Lenasia Management Committee. In a speech to the Witwatersrand Council of the Progressive Party, the Chairman of the Management Committee fully "elected" in September, 1974, condemned apartheid, referred to the history of political struggle of the Indian masses and the non-racial Congress Alliance and stated that Indians had no confidence in "toothless and ineffective" statutory bodies!

To underline the government's embarrassment, as well as those collaborators now serving on the Council (none of them have ever participated in the long struggles of the Indian and other black peoples for non-racialism and democracy) none other than the former Chairman

of the Council since its conception in 1964, launched a vitriolic attack on the council and government policy. Mr. H.E. Joosub first refused to stand for the election and stated his intention of not accepting a nomination for one of the 15 places. He continued:

After more than 10 years the Council remains a half nominated body and half purportedly (my emphasis) elected national body which cannot be representative of the Indian community in terms of universal democratic norms. (*The Leader* November 1, 1974).

Mr. Joosub, of course, like the majority of the Council members, is only interested in advancing the economic interests of a tiny minority within the Indian community who are benefitting directly from Nationalist Party policy, despite the inherent constraints and restrictions that the policy forces on them.

The same issue of *The Leader* reported:

Mr. Joosub's rejection of the SAIC which he so strongly supported since 1964 when he was elected first chairman appears to have come as a result of the forced removal of traders from the Prinsloo Street area in Pretoria where Mr. Joosub lives and conducts his business.

The intensification of the political and armed struggle on the basis of mass participation will serve not only to increasingly heighten the contradiction between the masses of the people and racist-regime, but will undoubtedly destroy any credibility and relevance of these institutions of tyranny for the masses of our people.

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IN HONOUR OF J.B. MARKS

A memorial to the former chairman of the South African Communist Party, comrade J.B. Marks, who died on August 1, 1972, was unveiled at the Novodevichye cemetery in Moscow on December 16, 1974. The ceremony was attended by leaders of the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress, members of the South African community in the Soviet Union, and leading representatives of the Soviet Government and people.

Addressing the gathering, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, national chairman of the South African Communist Party, said:

“It is but fitting that we are unveiling the memorial to J.B. Marks, affectionately known to us all as ‘Uncle J.B.’, today December 16 — Heroes’ Day — a date of special significance for the African National Congress of South Africa and the entire national liberation movement — for on this day annually the oppressed peoples of our country pay their homage and tribute to all the martyrs and heroes who laid down their lives and offered the supreme sacrifice in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and in the cause of freedom and the rights and liberties of the common people.

On this day we pay respect to the memory of, and derive inspiration from, the brave deeds of our dedicated men and women who fought and struggled with admirable gallantry against colonial conquest of our land ever since the white coloniser set his foot on our soil in the



middle of the 17th century.

It is fitting indeed that we honour Uncle J.B. on this day — for he was without a shadow of doubt one of the great heroes of our struggle.

He was a hero of the African people. As a dynamic leader of the African National Congress he commanded the respect of, and earned the love and affection of the African people throughout the land. His contribution in the cause of national liberation is a part of our history.

He was a hero of the South African working class. As a dedicated communist and working class leader he devoted his energy and efforts to the most formidable task of organising the most exploited section of the workers, the African gold miners, into the African Mine Workers' Union and under his inspiring leadership the miners came out in the historic strike of 1946 which struck a mighty blow against the whole of the cheap labour system. He exercised a tremendous influence on the development of the trade union movement among the African workers.

He was the hero of the fighting men of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC and the national liberation movement. In the camps his presence was a source of inspiration to our men and his fatherly guidance and advice gave them encouragement and steeled their fighting spirit.

He was a hero of the international communist movement. Uncle J.B. was a staunch internationalist and consistently upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism, tirelessly fought for the unity and consolidation of the world communist and workers movement. He has earned the love and respect of all fighters for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. J.B. Marks was a loyal and steadfast friend of the Soviet Union and came to love the great Soviet land very dearly which was to become his resting place as well as that of other outstanding South African revolutionaries, David Ivo Jones and Albert Nzula, Joseph Motsepe and a militant, Jara.

As we unveil this memorial to-day, I shall be failing in my duty if I were not to express the grateful thanks of the South African Communist Party and the national liberation movement of our country to the Central Committee of the CPSU for erecting this memorial at the graveside of J.B. Marks which will for ever remain a monument to the love and respect of the Soviet people for him, and an everlasting mark of solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet land with the just struggle of the oppressed South African people for national and social emanci-

pation. We say to our Soviet comrades, bolshoi spaceeba.

Like our revolutionary brothers and sisters in South Africa, we South Africans who have gathered here in Novodevichye cemetery in Moscow on this Heroes Day, 16th December 1974 rededicate ourselves to liberate our country, South Africa, and rid our beautiful land of the hideous system of white supremacy.

We make a renewed call on this day for the release of our heroes who to-day are languishing in the fascist prisons of Vorster regime. We demand the immediate freeing of Bram Fischer who is dangerously ill, of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and all the political prisoners — we shall not rest until every one of them is freed. ETERNAL GLORY TO THE MARTYRS OF FREEDOM! AMANDLA Ngawethu! MAATLA KE RONA! Mayibuye i Afrika! Long live the unity of the socialist community, the national liberation and working class forces of the world against imperialism, colonialism and racism and *for* peace, freedom and social progress!

The gathering was also addressed by the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. Alfred Nzo, who said:

“The National Executive committee and all the members of the African National Congress, and indeed all the fighting people of South Africa, convey their deep gratitude and profound thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the entire Soviet people, for having accorded our leader the honour and respect by constructing this memorial. This will always serve as a lasting reminder to all of us of his contribution and leadership of our struggle.

“Comrades, today the entire revolutionary movement of our country is flying its fighting banners at half mast to pay fitting homage to all the heroes of our movement who have laid down their lives in the course of our struggle for revolutionary change in our country. Our roll of honour, which is headed by Chief Lutuli, includes comrades such as Ivan Jones, Joseph Motsepe, Albert Nzula and Jara, all of whom like Uncle J.B. lie buried in the land of the proletariat, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

“It includes Umkhonto we Sizwe militants such as Adolphus Mvemve — comrade J.D. to all those who worked with him — Basil February, Patrick Molaoa, Mercy Tshabalala and many others who have laid down their lives, many of them in their prime, pursuing various tasks assigned to them by our organisation. All of them have left

their indelible footprints on the difficult and glorious road to independence and happiness for our people.

"December 16, our Heroes Day, is a day on which we rededicate ourselves with ever firmer conviction to contribute whatever we are, individually and collectively, capable of for the advancement of our revolutionary struggle. Those of us who are present over the grave of John Beaver Marks, Uncle J.B., repeat that pledge unflinchingly.

"Eternal glory to our immortal heroes and martyrs!

"Long live the lasting friendship between our people and the peoples of the Soviet Union!

"Amandla Ngawethu! Power to the People!

In his address, comrade I.S. Gustov, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Hero of the Soviet Union, said:

"The whole of progressive humanity knows and honours the name of John Marks. His life was a vivid example of selfless dedication to the communist ideals and the struggle against imperialist, colonial and racial oppression.

"The activities of John Marks are inseparably linked with the South African Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in 1928, at the age of 25. John Marks was one of the most popular and authoritative figures in the country's national liberation movement. From the late twenties onwards he took an active part in the work of the African National Congress, and fought courageously and unstintingly against those who were trampling on the rights and human dignity of the oppressed peoples in South Africa.

"As a result of his revolutionary activities, John Marks was constantly persecuted by the South African racist regime and was frequently arrested and imprisoned. Yet no amount of persecution could break the spirit of that dedicated Leninist and revolutionary.

"South African patriots mark the 16th December as the day of struggle against colonial, national and racial oppression. By marking this memorable date together with our South African comrades today, we are paying deep and respectful tribute to the outstanding South African revolutionary, genuine internationalist and Marxist-Leninist, John Marks. We express our firm belief in the ultimate victory of the cause to which he devoted his whole life."

Professor R. Ulanowsky, deputy chief of the international department of the CC of the CPSU, presided over the gathering.

Support from Communist Parties in Portugal . . .

Joint discussions were held in January 1975 between a delegation of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party and a delegation of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The delegation of the PCP gave an outline of the political situation in Portugal and the activities of the Party in the new conditions created by the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by the Armed Forces Movement, the conquest of political freedom by the Portuguese people and the ending of the colonial wars in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. It described the new perspectives of profound democratic and social changes which have emerged as a result of the alliance established between the popular masses and the Armed Forces.

The PCP delegation also outlined the main decisions of the Party, adopted by its Extraordinary Congress in October. These decisions aim at the strengthening of the democratic State, the defence of freedoms, the creation of economic and financial stability as a basis for development and the completion of the decolonisation process.

The SACP delegation dealt with the struggle of the Party, the African National Congress and the other South African revolutionary forces for the liberation of the people of their country from racial and social

oppression, against apartheid and against the brutal repression of the South African people by the white racist regime.

The delegation of the PCP expressed its admiration for the courageous and devoted struggle of the South African communists in hard conditions of illegality. It greeted their contribution in helping to unite all liberation forces of their country and pledged the support of the PCP by all means at its disposal, for the just struggle of the South African people.

The two delegations greeted the historic victories achieved by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, in their struggle for national liberation. They emphasised that the attainment of independence by these countries is of great significance for the African peoples still subject to the yoke of colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism. The two delegations expressed their solidarity with all peoples still struggling against fascist, racist and colonialist regimes.

The two delegations welcomed the important strides that have been made in the direction of international detente. There was an identity of views on all those problems of the world communist movement which were discussed. Both parties pledged to continue contributing actively to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of marxism-leninism and of the resolutions of the Moscow Conference of 1969. They also expressed their determination to strengthen the solidarity between all anti-imperialist, democratic and peace forces of the world.

In the spirit of fraternal friendship and cooperation which has always existed between the PCP and the SACP and especially in the light of the new conditions which have emerged, the two delegations agreed to develop further and reinforce their mutual bonds of solidarity.

... and Britain

A joint communique on South Africa issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain and the South African Communist Party on January 6, 1975, stated inter alia:

It is important for all supporters of the African people's struggle in

Southern Africa to understand that the struggle is not one for civil rights, but for national liberation and political power, for the ending of a system based on minority rule, repression and discrimination, and for the introduction of a genuinely democratic power based on majority rule, one man, one vote.

In this regard, we reaffirm our support for the African National Congress which is heading the South African liberation alliance. We call on the British labour movement and all anti-racist forces in Britain to step up their material and moral support to the ANC and to help popularise its programme throughout the solidarity movement.

The role of the British Labour Government in relation to South Africa has been rightly condemned by its own supporters, especially in connection with the joint naval exercises and other forms of military co-operation. Such collaboration with the hated practitioners of apartheid must be ended, and so should all other forms of military, economic and political co-operation between Britain and South Africa.

We appeal to all Labour and progressive organisations and people in Britain to press the Labour Government to carry out the following measures:

- * End all forms of military co-operation with the South African Government.
- * Ban all exports of capital to South Africa.
- * Cease all trade with South Africa.
- * Support all United Nations decisions to introduce sanctions against South Africa, and to expel South Africa from UN membership.
- * Call for the release of Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, John Hosesy and all other political prisoners.

BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICA'S DIRTY TRICKS

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence: Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, Cape £3.95

Inside the Company: a CIA Diary: Philip Agee, Penguin 95p

No-one would believe these two books if they weren't (apparently) written from within the CIA itself . . .

The first of them looks pretty amazing, even before one has read a word. Page after page contains great blank spaces, excised following court action by the CIA to prevent Marchetti, a CIA operator for 14 years (his co-author, Marks, was an employee of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research), from exposing certain facts about the organisation's activities throughout the world. And since some of these cuts have been restored (by subsequent court action, which may in future result in the restoration of a further 140 passages), and printed in bold type, they provide in themselves an interesting revelation of the mind of the most powerful secret police force in the world: for they include references to the CIA's part in rigging elections against Allende in Chile in 1970, in training Tibetan guerrillas to fight the Chinese in

1950, in organising guerrilla raids into North Vietnam in 1964. . . that is, to matters that are certainly no secret to those against whom they were directed, but which may well be news to the American public, which pays the CIA but to which the CIA is not responsible.

What the CIA doesn't want the American public (and us) to know is that it is not simply, as the 1947 Act which set it up, under the Truman administration presented it, an intelligence agency, devoted to co-ordinating 'the intelligence collection programmes of the various government departments'. From the beginning it was enabled *also* to act, in the words of the present authors, 'as the clandestine instrument by which Washington could achieve foreign-policy goals not attainable through diplomacy' (p.8). In other words, its work was subversion, manipulation and intervention in the affairs of foreign countries, in the interests of the United States. It was, and is, responsible only to the President.

One of the passages the CIA tried unsuccessfully to suppress runs as follows: 'At present the agency uses about two-thirds of its funds and its manpower for covert operations and their support — proportions that have been held relatively constant for more than ten years. Thus, out of the agency's career workforce of roughly 16,500 people and yearly budget of about £750m, 11,000 personnel and roughly \$550m are earmarked for the Clandestine Services and those activities of the Directorate of Management and Services (formerly the Directorate of Support), such as communications, logistics and training, which contribute to covert activities. Only about 20% of the CIA's career employees (spending less than 10% of the budget) work on intelligence analysis and information processing'.

It will probably come as no surprise to African comrades that Marchetti and Marks though neither of them directly involved in these clandestine operations, make clear that by far the most frequent, as well as the most vulnerable objects of CIA subversive attentions are the countries of the Third World. The book is full of examples: we all know that the CIA tried to force Cuba back into the imperialist orbit at the Bay of Pigs; but how many of us know also that the organisation supplied money to Adoula and Mobutu in the Congo, and that (p.31) 'by 1964, the CIA had imported its own mercenaries into the Congo, and the agency's B-26 bombers, flown by Cuban exile pilots — many of whom were Bay of Pigs veterans — were carrying out regular missions

against insurgent groups! The 'insurgent groups', readers may recall, were *Congolese* forces attempting to defend *Congolese* independence against Belgian, and other imperialist intervention — it was the year of course of the Stanleyville paratroop landings. It was also the CIA, through one of its covertly owned air transport companies, that managed to supply B-26 bombers in 1965 to Portugal for use against African freedom movements — at a time when an arms embargo by the U.S. government was in force (p.144). But the story that most painfully turns the stomach is perhaps one concerning the Huk rebellion in the Philippines in the early 1950's (p.28). It seems that a 'psywar' squad of the CIA, complete with tame anthropologist, discovered that fear of vampires was common in a certain area where the Huk were active. So they ambushed a Huk unit, captured one of the men, punctured his neck twice, drained his body of blood, and hung his corpse over the trail . . .

Philip Agee's book is in some ways even more astonishing than Marchetti's, partly because Agee, in his twelve years inside 'the company' (which is how, he says, all CIA employees are trained to refer to their organisation), *did* work for Clandestine Services, in Latin America: Ecuador, then Uruguay, and Mexico. He took part in, or had intimate knowledge of, operations to undermine trade unions, penetrate Communist and socialist parties, track down revolutionaries and discredit foreign missions of the Socialist countries. He describes CIA triumphs in forcing Latin American governments to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and to defeat Cheddi Jagan in Guyana. He is eventually shocked by President Johnson's massive invasion of the Dominican Republic to bring down the democratic Bosch government, many of whose personnel the Americans had themselves trained. He concludes that it is not 'communism' the CIA is fighting in Latin America, but 'nationalism' . . . that is, that it is acting in defence of U.S. companies with their huge economic stake in the subcontinent, against the interest of the mass of the people who live there. These (as he remarks of Brazil) 'are getting still poorer while the small ruling elite and their military puppets get an even larger share'. Agee documents the role of Brazil as torture-capital of the sub-continent, whose methods and personnel — themselves U.S.-trained — are exported to one country after another; exposes the economic and political corruption of the regimes the CIA and other American agencies spend millions of dollars to protect from their own people, and details the petty intrigues of his

colleagues and himself — the sheer childish idiocy of many of which is barely credible. That so much human energy should be expended on forging a single letter to discredit a seminar of the International Union of Students in Uruguay! But the games are not really children's games, of course. They are fantasies made fact, and they are played with life and death. One of the shocks that helped Philip Agee to his senses was the accident of actually hearing the screams under torture of a man he had himself betrayed to the dreaded Montevideo police.

Agee left the CIA, came to Europe and began to write his book. The story of how the CIA's agents continued to hound him through Paris and London, (by bugging his typewriter, for instance), how he decided to publish abroad and not in the U.S. (so that his publishers could not be subjected to the Marchetti treatment), and to blow the gaff not only on the CIA's activities but on the names and codenames of its personnel, and the organisations it supports and finances, is a thriller in itself.

Both these books should be recommended reading for political activists anywhere in the world, but particularly for those in any Third World country in the kind of revolutionary situation that inevitably invites the excited attention of the CIA.

A.R.

GADAFI'S WAY FORWARD

Libya — The Elusive Revolution, by Ruth First, published in the Penguin African Library Price 70p

'Newly independent Africa' has become one of the most commonplace of phrases in contemporary political discussion, almost as though the countries which comprise it are a homogeneous group, divided only into convenient administrative divisions. The phrase serves to obscure the reality; which is of fundamentally different entities with profoundly different problems and prospects, however much they may share similar ideologic outlooks or general historical background.

Yet every serious look at any part of the convenient reveals how individual and unique each country is. And Ruth First's penetrating

study of Libya just issued in the Penguin African Library series reminds us once again of that reality. On surface, at any rate, Libya might appear as the most typical of all prototypes of 'independent Africa'; it shares with the whole continent a history of colonial conquest and subjection, with the Northern Sahara a vast subterranean oil wealth with which to transform its semi-nomadic desert tribal culture and social organisation; and with the countries further South, a typical pattern of underdevelopment coupled with alienation of its main natural resources by foreign capital.

The reality is, however, different. Libya is no prototype, but suprisingly individual, its problems uniquely its own, its prospect linked to but in no measure identical with those of other African states. It is this unique quality which Ruth First discerns with the sharp perception which has marked her writings on other aspects of the African scene; her acutely critical insight is tempered with that real commitment to social advance which has characterised her previous written work as well as her appearances on the political platforms.

Libya is a victim of the imperialist age, but yet with a richer tradition of anti-imperial struggle than most. She is a poor, mainly desert, basically agricultural country, but with a well-developed farming base of modern, non-peasant type. Her head of state, Colonel Gadafi, is a military man in the typical African "young-officer" pattern, but, untypically, fanatically wedded to an ill-defined "Muslim socialism". Libya's state coffers *are*, — as in most oil-rich areas — bulging; yet its regime is untypically ascetic, puritanical, and dedicated to social betterment of the masses rather than personal enrichment of an elite.

Such a country requires a special appraisal, different from much of the generalised appraisal which has been made of Africa. It carries within it special contradictions. How, for example, to reconcile the military style, personal authoritarianism of Gadafi's regime at the top, with the attempts to command into being a form of popular democracy through 'Peoples Popular Committees' at the bottom? Or the prospects of Gadafi's Muslim fundamentalism with all its purdah-based enslavement of women, in the face of Gadafi's rapidly developing educational campaign for women no less than men?

Not the least difficult of Libya's puzzles is the puzzle of its own self-styled "revolution". Was it coup? Or accident? Did power pass from

one social class to another? Or merely from one set of hands to another, without altering the class realities? And did this really transform the social and economic base of the power? The reality, as the title of the book implies, is "elusive".

Yet the search for understanding of it is vastly rewarding to everyone interested in the future of Africa. For here, for all its uniqueness and difference — there is being written a unique experience of social change in the post-independence era, whose study can illuminate the way forward and the pitfalls for others.

T.

THE KEY TO PROGRESS

Industrialisation of Developing Countries, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, as part of the series "Problems of the Third World".

It is a matter of history, substantiated in particular by the history of the Soviet Union, that industrialisation is the ultimate key to the all-round socio-economic development of developing countries. Of the 90 countries which, according to the U.N. Committee for Industrial Development, fall into this category, the process of industrialisation not only means the liberation of the broad masses of people from techno-economic backwardness but constitutes the essence of the struggle for national liberation in its broadest sense. Given the historic impact of colonialism and the policy of neo-colonialism under which imperialism in general attempts to maintain and perpetuate the old colonial-type relationship in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America; given the distortions in the economic development and the continuous attempts to cast these countries into the role of "raw-material appendages" of the imperialist powers, the question of industrialisation is no longer one of debate, but an over-riding necessity, and constitutes in a real sense an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle. Industrialisation is therefore the logical extension of the struggle for political independence and national sovereignty representing a fundamental instrument through which the developing countries can

achieve their liberation.

Whilst the latter conclusion emerges as the single most important aspect of the book *Industrialisation of Developing Countries*, its subject matter, nevertheless, deals with the totality of the multi-faceted process of industrialisation through a series of contributions by leading economists from the Soviet Union. The contributions, however, are not merely concerned with the theoretical aspects of the process of industrialisation, but underline the many practical tasks that need to be considered and solved as a means of giving effect to any development strategy. This aspect is particularly underscored by reference to detailed analysis of the experience of a number of developing countries e.g. India, Brazil, Mexico, Pakistan, Nigeria, The United Arab Republic etc.

An overall conception of what the process of industrialisation involves is exhaustively analysed. The methods, forms, sequences and stages of the process of industrialisation are both a technical-economic process involving the diversification of the economy by introducing the latest scientific and technological innovations in the production process in key sectors; as well as a socio-economic process which requires the conscious participation of the masses of people in the development of the national economy. Economic considerations, therefore, are indissolubly linked with political and social considerations.

Whilst the question of mobilising huge economic resources for achieving the objectives of a formulated "industrialisation strategy" is of paramount importance, it cannot be achieved except through deep-going democratic changes in social relations at all levels — "changes that would help rally the masses for conscious action in advancing the economy and building the new society". Certainly, the totality of social relations emerging from the capitalist mode of production, with its class divisions and socio-economic inequity, undermines the very basis for this.

Apart from the question of a total conception of what industrialisation means, specific aspects of the process are analysed in depth. These include contributions on the problems of different economic structures in a given country (e.g. patriarchal-communal with pre-capitalist and developing capitalist structures); the problem of capital formation, especially the need to control the penetration of foreign capital in key sectors of the economy; considerations of key factors (e.g. the level of the productive forces, the availability of raw material resources,

the composition of the labour force) that have to be taken into account in formulating a "development strategy", the impact of the state and the class character of power on the character and evolution of the national economy.

In particular, the question must be considered of the need to develop heavy industries with a view to producing the means of production; the relationship between industry and agriculture; between small scale production (artisan production) and large enterprises; between primary and secondary industries with the attendant development of the servicing industries.

A feature of all the contributions is that at no point is the approach a schematic one and at no time are these questions divorced from the social and political context within which they operate. Nor are mere in-depth analysis and proposals for the solution of these questions divorced from the international context in which the developing countries have to develop. In this latter respect two conclusions emerge with clarity:

Firstly, because of the world division of labour as it is now constituted for the developing countries, the policies of the imperialist powers in alliance with reactionary elements within developing countries impede all-round development.

Secondly, the tremendous scale of both scientific and technological requirements called for in the process of industrialisation necessitate co-operation internationally. Experience has indicated that it is not in the interests of imperialist powers to encourage industrialisation, whilst the record of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, rests precisely on the principles of co-operation based on mutual benefit and equality.

In general, the contributions highlight the intricate processes involved in industrialisation, and the fact that no single blueprint or solution exists for all countries, but that "each group of countries, and each country, naturally undertakes industrialisation in its particular conditions and this process has its specific features in each state. At the same time . . . acceleration of socio-economic progress on the basis of industrialisation is possible only when it is accompanied by deep-going social changes, by the triumph of new, more advanced relations of production". (page 363).

Goolam Singh

SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM POETRY

Poets To The People, edited by Barry Feinberg. George Allen and Unwin £2.95, paperback 85p

Barry Feinberg, the South African artist and poet living in London has brought together a collection of poems by ten poets of our country who project through their work the rising voice of protest and rebellion of the oppressed people. Entitled 'Poets to the People' the editor has managed to chose the most significant of the works of those compatriots who reinforce the fact that the South African scene has been stimulated by the eruption of Black socially and politically conscious poetry not seen for many years in our country.

It was in the 19th century, the golden age of African literature, that the disturbances in the continent of Africa produced major heroic epics which recorded the great era of resistance against the colonial aggressor. Today the oppressed people are entering an intense period in struggles of this century and it is fitting that the passion of the people for freedom be manifested in their songs and poetry.

Moreover, in the words of the editor of this collection: 'This is the first anthology of poems projecting the alternative revolutionary voice of South Africa. These ten poets have all been fired by their national realities, realities which are not only daily dominated by the brutalities of Apartheid, but are also witness to the gathering forces which must inevitably destroy that system'.

'We shall be avenged'
and the people take up the shout
'Our heroes shall be avenged'.

These are the words of one of the contributors, A. N. C. Kumalo, and the spirit is maintained throughout. The importance of this collection of such poetry is also that it serves to illustrate that in times of severe repression poetry serves to express the feelings of the people and can also point towards their political goals. Rising above the well-worn slogan of 'art for art's sake' only, poets of Palestine, Vietnam, Latin America, the Portuguese colonies have demonstrated against all argument that literature must reflect the feelings of the people and their time if it is to serve their cause and become popular. Similarly the recent flow of militancy from South Africa's black oppressed, workers and students,

after a period of ebb due to severe pressures and setbacks, has given rise to this poetic expression reflecting the upsurge before which the barriers of national oppression and apartheid which frustrate the spirit and deny cultural identity must finally sunder.

Certainly not all the poetry appearing today shows a combination of both social or political consciousness and artistic merit, but Barry Feinberg has been able to extract some of the best examples for his collection. Ranging from the technical craftsmanship and symbolism of such as Kunene, Nortje and Brutus, through the social protest of Mtshali and Serotse to the politically committed like Kumalo and Scarlet Whitman, the compiler (who is himself also a contributor) has given us a collection of the most representative examples of South African revolutionary poetic expression, while the promise of even better is sure to be fulfilled as our people advance towards new heights of struggle and the final goal.

In an introduction to the collection, the eminent British poet Hugh MacDiarmid says, 'There can be no greater mistake than to criticize these poems for not answering the requirements of what reactionary academics regard as "high poetry" . . . The greatest poets have written neither to extrovert their personalities nor to comply with the demands of taste, but to voice the common thought of masses of men . . .' This is the atmosphere of 'Poets to the People', but nevertheless none of the works contained in the volume lacks the imagery and skill which characterise fine verse.

The collection is dedicated to South Africa's political prisoners and the African National Congress. All royalties from sales will go to the International Defence and Aid Fund.

GALA.

Letters to the Editor

ZIMBABWE AT THE CROSSROADS

Following the coup that brought down fifty years of fascist rule in Portugal, dramatic events are taking place in Southern Africa, Mozambique and Angola are on the threshold of national independence. All true African patriots and freedom-loving people throughout the world are rejoicing at the heroic victories scored by the armed combatants of the National Liberation Movements in these so-called overseas Portuguese territories. One of the main pillars in the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano has crumbled under the steady blows of African militants. Indeed the myth of the invincibility of White supremacy and colonialism has been exploded leaving Smith in Zimbabwe and Vorster in South Africa haunted by unending nightmares of their inevitable doom.

In the midst of this jubilation and joy people want to know the aims and plans of Smith and Vorster. Why has Smith suddenly realised that he must hold talks with the leadership of the nationalist movements in Zimbabwe? Is the leopard changing its colours? So far we have got cause to believe that Smith's tricks and promises are no sign of change of heart; he has no plans or intentions of dismantling the

structure of White domination in Zimbabwe; on the contrary he intends consolidating it at the expense of the Black masses of Zimbabwe. What clearly emerges from his recent manoeuvres is the fact that Smith has realised that his position is weak and that the guerrilla movement inside Zimbabwe is sure to win.

So far all his attempts to crush the armed struggle have failed; instead the guerrilla movement is steadily gaining ground and winning increasing support from the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Counter-guerrilla specialists themselves admit that the best way of crushing guerrilla warfare is not to allow it to start because once it starts it gradually gains momentum as it draws in more and more active support from among the oppressed masses. Smith missed that moment; all the same it is never too late to mend. Reliable sources give evidence that the main preoccupation of international imperialism, headed by the United States of America, is to convince African patriots to lay down arms and talk with the oppressors for fear that armed struggles lead to 'communism'. "Moderation of White policies" is to achieve this end. (*Daily News Tanzania* 2.11.74.)

In accordance with this plan, Smith is prepared to call a constitutional conference on condition: "Firstly that there should be a cessation of terrorism in accordance with the Prime Minister's frequently stated principles that he would only be prepared to discuss constitutional issues with those who undertook to work constitutionally and within the law.

"Secondly, that any constitutional conference would have to accept that there would be no lowering of standards". (*Sunday Tribune* 8.12.74)

Smith is 'prepared' to give in some ground as long as this does not touch the system of White domination. In his own words he is not prepared to lower the "standards of civilisation!" It would be very interesting to understand the actual meaning of "standards of civilisation" — one could safely add "western civilisation" and the meaning will be clearer.

In reply to the demands of the National Liberation Movement for immediate majority rule, Smith insists on a qualified franchise. In simple terms this means that only a chosen few from among the Blacks will be able to vote and be voted into ruling organs — those who have certain standards of education and wealth, and the broad masses will

be cut off completely. Of course the aim and the end-result of all this exercise will be the creation of a middle petty-bourgeois buffer Black group that will reinforce the White settler group in consolidating and entrenching the system of White domination. In the given situation, in whose hands will political power rest? In any revolution the question of political power is a key one. Without this political power no party will be in a position to effect any serious socio-economic changes to improve the material conditions of the broad masses.

What perhaps is most disturbing is the demand by the Smith clique for a ceasefire or the laying down of weapons by the nationalist movements. But when do people lay down their arms — is it after the attainment of their strategic goal or before? If we disarm the National Liberation Movements, who is disarming Smith? If we disband our guerrilla bands, who is disbanding Smith's oppressor army? Even ordinary people are posing these questions genuinely too. Has the hour come for raising toasts of peace? No. This is the time to intensify the struggle and destroy the enemy.

Mava Lobengula

SUITABLE CASES FOR TREATMENT?

The Times (London December 19 1974) reported Vladimir Bukovsky and Semyon Gluzman's clandestinely circulating *Handbook to Psychiatry for Dissidents*. These self-described upholders of truth, sincerity and sympathy "advise their like not to have hope in the conscience of Soviet doctors since the doctors adhere to organisations who profess *the morality of a Hottentot*."

The learned authors of the clandestine *Handbook* are, we take it, experts on morality in general and specifically have knowledge of "the morality of the Hottentots," as well as on questions of respect between peoples. With their special access to higher morality one would not expect them to think and talk recklessly. So a small note on the morality of the Khoi-Khoin people, called Hottentots by the racist and colonialist plunderers of South Africa.

Autshumao, chief of the small Khoi-Khoin tribe, the Goringhaikonas greeted Jan van Riebeeck and his 200 fellow-travellers when they landed

at the Cape in 1652. They were met in the way the tribe previously had done with sailors from ships that had pulled into the bay for fresh water and available food. Autshamao could not have anticipated that this meeting would eventually result in his being thrown into chains and imprisoned on an island. Autshumao probably had never conceived of somebody with Jan van Riebeeck's credentials. That representative of civilisation and morality had been dismissed by the Dutch East Indian Company because he had been cheating the Company and it was only because of the non-availability of anyone else that he was reinstated to run the halfway refreshment station at the Cape. The morality of Autshumao and his people did not encompass fraud. They accepted the visitors as wanting to replenish themselves and other sailors. Paranoia was absent.

Had they been less trusting Van Riebeeck and his troop would have been destroyed on landing. Even after the Dutch had settled and built their fortress it is evident from Van Riebeeck's own Journal entry that the Khoi-Khoi knew the structure and materials of the Dutch fortress and therefore had the logistic capability to destroy the fortress and the settlers.

But it was the settlers who pre-emptively made the physical assault that all but genocidally destroyed the Khoi-Khoi. Some historians record that the hosts had become disgruntled with the settlers, now turned cattle thieves and land invaders; but still they did not attack, in spite of obvious opportunity to do so. Why they didn't do so when physically and logistically superior is perhaps explainable in terms of a morality different from the aggressiveness of capitalism and imperialism which is difficult for us to grasp, conditioned as we are by our time. We need a process and opportunity to consciously free ourselves from this historical process.

It is in Jan van Riebeeck's official journal that we come across the reference to the Khoi-Khoi as a "brutal lot without conscience". It was these people against whom Van Riebeeck pre-emptively struck and whom he destroyed. Not only have the Khoi-Khoi been physically destroyed but the name by which they called themselves has been buried with them, and the derogatory nickname — Hottentot — is how they are referred to in the writings of colonialist historians.

Back to the intellectual "dissidents" and their attitudes. Schooled in psychiatry the authors of the so-called *Handbook* cannot be given the

benefit of the doubt that the statement on which I have taken issue is a minor slip of the pen. The statement must reflect something. After nearly 60 years of Soviet power and a state policy based on the principle of working-class morality which is internationalism, these men do not even pretend lip service to the concept of respect between peoples.

What is their special key to morality which differs from the morality of the 200 million other Soviet citizens? Or is it that they are so wrapped up in themselves that they have lost a perspective of life around them? Not intending to be sarcastic, the logic of their position is that their next publication ought to be *A Diagnosis of the Insane Soviet People*.

I feel an anger and contempt for such individuals who pose in the guise of a superior morality and intellect and have the temerity to crudely insult the ancestral people of my motherland.

The Khoi-Khoi were not only all but physically destroyed. Racist historians insult them. Autshumao is relegated to the nickname "Harry the Hottentot". His opposition to the destruction and enslavement of his people led to his being chained and incarcerated on Robben Island. Such are the background facts of those people regarded as brutal and immoral.

Not so paradoxically, the dissident experts speak in the same language of our racist oppressors. Both, after all, hold themselves up as the avowed protectors of civilisation. Capitalist aggressiveness or socialist co-operation? Which socio-economic morality do they adhere to?

See:

Lionel Forman: *Black and White in South African History* – (notes on South African History).

A. Bakaya